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JUSTICE AND POLICY.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Increasing Growth and Enormities

OF OUR

GREAT CITIES.

SHEWING

The Breaches thereby occasioned in the Constitution, with a Method to repair them, and, through the Means of Morality and Industry, to place it upon a more firm Basis, by the Bands of UNION, that BRITAIN may become the Asylum of Worth, and the Empire, with the Commerce of it, justly established, instead of exchanging Religion for Trade.

ALSO,

Considerations upon the State of IRELAND, with a Proposal for the Relief of it, and a Scheme for its Benefit, by employing the Poor universally; together with Reflections on Police in general, and on the Exportation of Provisions from Ireland in particular.

To which is added,

THOUGHTS on Conquests, Trade, and Military Colonies, &c. &c.

Divided into SEVEN CHAPTERS.

Addressed to a NOBLE PEER,

By a Freeholder in Ireland, and a Stockholder in England.

VIS UNITA FORTIOR.

Certe id firmissimum longi Imperium est quo obedientes gaudent.
Camillus ad Sen. Roman. Liv. lib. viii.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE following Thoughts were put into Writing at different Times; which is mentioned as an Apology for their Incorrectneſs. The Subject having been a common Topic in both Kingdoms, it is now ſubmitted to Conſideration. The Writer, though an inferior Member of the Community, ventures to deliver his Sentiments upon theſe Points, not from a Deſire to inflame and divide, nor from a Motive of Vanity, but from the Force of Truth and a good Intention.

If

If the Facts he has advanced are admitted, and that the candid Reader takes his Meaning, he will not trouble himself about the Self-interested, or the Critics; and, notwithstanding the many Quotations he was necessitated to introduce, he would be understood to mean only a HINT to collect the several Materials together, for an Architect to erect a compleat and durable Building.

JUSTICE

JUSTICE AND POLICY.

AN

ESSAY, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Lot of Mankind changed.—Change in Nature by the Flood.—The Diſperſion of Mankind.—The Origin of Commerce.—The Progreſs of it.—Of Empires and great Cities.—The Effect they have upon Liberty and Virtue.

WHEN the Almighty had formed the world, and created the firſt pair for the peopling thereof, and that they, through diſobedience, inadvertency, fatality, or whatever it may be reckoned, had ſo offended in eating the fruit of the forbidden tree (and thereby introduced ſin, miſery, and natural death) that Adam was ſent forth from that moſt delightful ſpot of earth, the GARDEN of EDEN, to till the ground from whence he was taken;

it ſeems to have been the intent of Providence that mankind ſhould lead rural lives; and from particular circumſtances, from obſervations on our organs of digeſtion and the animal œconomy, it ſeems as if a (*a*) vegetable and ſimple diet was deſigned at firſt for our uſe, and not an animal and vinous one; which latter did not take place till the waters had drowned this earth. This extraordinary event cauſed a great alteration in the nature of things (*b*). Then the age of man was abridged, and the

(*a*) Homo arte natura animal carnivorum non eſt, nullis ad prœdam & rapinam armis inſtructum, &c. RAII Hiſt. Plant.

(*b*) The compilers of the Univerſal Hiſtory obſerve *, That the ſtate of the natural world before the flood ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent, and the antediluvian world was, in all probability, ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the preſent earth. This ſeems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the preſent ſtandard of life in the proportion of at leaſt ten to one, the Antediluvians muſt accordingly, in any long ſpace of time, double themſelves, at leaſt in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themſelves. If we make a computation upon theſe principles (from whence Mr. Whiſton has formed his tables of the multiplication of mankind in his Theory of the Earth) the number of mankind would eaſily amount to above a hundred thouſand millions, that is, twenty times as many as our preſent earth has in all probability now upon it, or can be well ſuppoſed capable of maintaining in its preſent conſtitution. One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances which occurs, is the vaſt length of mens lives in thoſe firſt ages, in compariſon of our own. The cauſes of this longevity are variouſly aſſigned; ſome have imputed it to the ſobriety of the Antediluvians and the ſimplicity of their diet, that they eat no fleſh; others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and ſome peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of thoſe days; others have thought that the long lives of thoſe inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the ſtrength of their ſtamina, or firſt principles of their bodily

* See ſection the 7th of the firſt chapter of the firſt book of the Univerſal Hiſtory.

conſtitutions:

the vine-tree cultivated by Noah, who, with his family, ſet about (upon a new ſyſtem) to re-people the earth, whoſe offſpring, in the courſe of time, came to be cantoned into diſtinct nations and ſocieties.

Here we ſee the origin of all the different nations of the world. Then the whole earth was of one language; and they ſaid, Let us build a city, and a tower whoſe top may reach unto Heaven. But the Lord confounded their language, and ſcattered them abroad upon the face of the earth. GENESIS, chap. xi.

The more we conſider it, the more we ſhall ſee the great happineſs that has aroſe to the world from the diſperſion here recorded: for now mankind are employed in every part thereof, for the mutual benefit of each. Hence the origin of commerce.

Happy will it be for us, if in the purſuit thereof, particularly with reſpect to the Negro trade, and with the Indians, we, who profeſs Chriſt's doctrine with greateſt purity, have not deviated from our profeſſed maxims of humanity and morality. For we ought to look upon all men, of whatever country or nation, however different in manners, cuſtoms, and complexion, with brotherly good nature and reſpect: for in reality, however ſeparated, we are all brethren, as being deſcended from the ſame ſtock and family (*c*).

It is apprehended, that our great cities may be conſidered as Babels; the exceſſive growth of which (the effect of vanity) tends to the deſtruction of virtue and liberty in the world.

conſtitutions: it has been more rationally ſuppoſed, that the chief cauſe of this longevity was the ſalubrious conſtitution of the antediluvian air.

(*c*) See New Illuſtration of the Bible on the xith chapter of Geneſis.

An inquiry into this ſubject, viz. the magnitude and increaſing enormities of great cities, ſhewing the danger, inconveniency, and damage ariſing therefrom, and how the general intereſt of mankind is affected thereby, together with ſome propoſals for reforming the abuſes complained of, it is hoped, will be favourably received.

London, taken in its largeſt ſenſe, is found, by thoſe who have been at the pains of comparing it with the great cities of the ancients, as well as thoſe in modern days, to exceed any of them all in magnitude, trade, and number of people.

This being the caſe, let us inquire into the ſtate of London and Dublin, the capitals of theſe two iſlands, and ſee what relates to them. The former as the ſeat of the Britiſh empire, and the centre of its wealth; the latter as the metropolis of a kingdom, and a biennial rendezvous.

It is conceived, that theſe heads (London and Dublin) from the conſtant accretion to them, are too great for their reſpective bodies, which, as in the animal, ſo in the political frame, produces diſtempers in the body and limbs, and thereby diſſolution may be brought on the whole.

Our bills of mortality make it evident, that the deaths in great cities greatly exceed the births. The burials in London are at leaſt one third more than the chriſtenings; in Dublin about the ſame; but in Paris the burials and chriſtenings are nearly equal.

By comparing the mediums of the totals of the chriſtenings and burials in London *(d)*, from the year 1703 to the year 1720, both included, and from 1720 to 1738, it appears, that the number of the inhabitants of that city is greatly increaſed;

(d) See Maitland's Hiſtory of London, page 740.

and

and it likewiſe proves, that the proportion of deaths is higher than in former times; ſo that, in a certain revolution of time, London muſt ſwallow all the people of Great Britain; which, in a comparative degree, is the caſe of Dublin with reſpect to Ireland: therefore, the prodigious extent of our great cities is the cauſe of depopulation (*e*).

Thus London being the great gulph that ſwallows up the people, ſo it will be found likewiſe to be the Babylon of modern times, deſtructive of morality and virtue in the moſt active part of the nation.

It is lamentable when one reflects what daily increaſing evils are going forward, by the excurſions and ravages of one ſex upon the other; what deſtruction by the loſs in propagation, conſidered in a moral as well as political light; ſhould not ſome adequate method be found to prevent ſingle perſons, and particularly the moſt beautiful part of

(*e*) The well peopling of a ſtate (ſays the writer of *Les Interets de la France, mal entendus*) and conſequently its ſtrength, depends upon a proper diſtribution of its inhabitants: for fifteen millions of men may be ſo diſpoſed, as to be more or leſs favourable to propagation. Repeated experience convinces us, that the manner of living in large cities generally ſhortens the life of man; for there the ſeaſons are inverted, and nature put out of her road. The greater the number of men aſſembled in one place, the more their paſſions are animated; becauſe the emulation of diſtinguiſhing themſelves increaſes in proportion to their number that act upon the ſame ſtage: to which may be added, that the ſuperfluous delicacies of populous cities ſtimulate the paſſions, which in other places lie dormant. The taſte and ſentiments of citizens are ſo different from what is found among country people, that they ſeem to be quite another ſpecies of men. It is an unerring rule, that in every kingdom, where there are ſeveral large populous cities, the other parts of the nation are thin of inhabitants; becauſe the cities cannot be ſupplied with people but by continual recruits from the country, which is thereby drained of men.

mankind,

mankind, from ruining themſelves, and preying upon the public? The houſes of reſort for theſe being a diſgrace to any city, in the manner they are allowed, ſhould not theſe be highly taxed, and all lodging-houſes for ſingle perſons have a licence like other public houſes? the number of which at this time being ſo great, would raiſe a conſiderable ſum towards the next ſupplies.

It is thought, if London, Weſtminſter, and their liberties, were united under one corporation, there would not be that latitude for vice, which in the nature of ſo overgrown a town, in its unconnected ſtate, is ſaid to be unavoidable.

We ſee that certain neighbourhoods in the city of London are excellently well regulated; and might not the whole be put under one good government, if private intereſt did not outweigh the public welfare?

The merit of the citizens of London, without doubt, from time to time has been very conſiderable; which is evident by looking over the ſeveral charters of the city, where are to be ſeen the many favours they have received from the crown in grants of privileges and eſtates, &c. But ſhall the conſtitution be endangered to aggrandize one ſet of men, and the Thames be the only channel of wealth?

The ill effects of monopolies, and of not allowing Ireland a free trade, is in no one thing more obvious, than in the overgrown and overbearing ſtate of a certain corporation, which, it ſeems, would not only intrude itſelf into the conſtitution, but, by taking advantage of the vaſt debt of the nation, would take the lead. Were there an equal indulgence of trade, this diſorder would be removed. Diſproportion, a late writer obſerves, is a ſufficient cauſe of diſcontent. That Ireland enjoys little liberty, comparatively with England, appears from

from the laws which make its conſtitution. It enjoys but little trade; for there too it is cramped by Great Britain. It is hoped, the day is now at hand that truth will prevail over prejudice and party, and our chiefs, by their united councils and abilities, purſue the true intereſt of theſe three kingdoms; ſo ſhall Britain keep down the enemies of her religion, conſtitution, and trade.

The truth of this propoſition, "That the exceſſive growth of great cities, tend to the deſtruction of liberty and virtue," I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate in a brief manner, from what has happened before our time, in thoſe ſtates and empires that have been famous for dominion and trade, and from thence make the application to the Britiſh nation. Accordingly we find, from Univerſal Hiſtory, that no degree of trade, of wealth, of naval or military force, have ever been ſufficient to ſupport any nation where luxury and vice have prevailed; but on the contrary, the greateſt empires, in all ages, have ſunk before them. For inſtance, the firſt great empire in the world, viz. the Aſſyrian, the capital of which was Nineveh, owed its deſtruction to the luxury and effeminacy of its prince Sardanapalus; which luxury ſome of his own generals growing impatient of, and deſpiſing to be governed by him, took arms againſt him, intirely overturned the empire, and broke it into three kingdoms.

The Babylonian empire, ſo called from the city Babylon, its capital, aroſe after that properly called the Aſſyrian. It grew to great ſplendor and riches, and thoſe riches produced great luxury, which proved the ruin of the ſtate; for the city and empire were taken by *(f)* Darius the Median in the night by ſurprize, while the king Belſhazzar, his

(f) Daniel, chap. v.

wives,

wives, and his concubines, with a thouſand of the nobles of his land, were engaged in a debauch.

The Perſian empire, which aroſe upon the ruins of the Babylonian, acquiring immenſe riches by that conqueſt, fell alſo into great luxury, and in time exceeded the Babylonian in that very vice which they ſaw bring on its deſtruction. For in Xerxes's time, when he invaded Greece with an army of above two millions and a half, the number of the ſervants and attendants exceeded that of the ſoldiers; but that of the concubines, eunuchs, and other implements of luxury which accompanied his army, according to Herodotus, was beyond reckoning: and the event was anſwerable; for almoſt his whole multitude was deſtroyed. They had their veſſels of gold and ſilver without number; inſtruments of luxury, ſays Q. Curtius, not of victory, and more proper to allure and enrich an enemy, than to repel and defeat them.—Afterward, when the empire was attacked by Alexander, its whole power fell before him, at the head of a handful of troops, not enervated by luxury. The ſpoils of the Perſians proved fatal to all Greece. One would have thought that Alexander, who himſelf overpowered the vaſt army of Perſia, by the mere advantage of his troops being hardened to war; whereas thoſe of Darius *(g)* Codomannus were effeminated to luxury to ſuch a degree, that 30,000 Macedonians proved victorious over 600,000 Perſians; one would have thought, I ſay, that Alexander himſelf would have been in no danger, with ſuch an example before his eyes, of ſplitting upon the ſame rock. But we are told by Juſtin, that he degenerated into the luxury and vices of the Perſians, whom, by means of that very luxury, he had overcome: that he ſuffered

(g) See Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. iv. 8vo edition.

the

the army to debauch themſelves; and with him fell the empire he had raiſed, being immediately divided into ſeveral kingdoms.

Four great events happened in the reign of Alexander, which intirely changed the face of commerce; the taking of Tyre, and the conqueſt of Egypt; that likewiſe of the Indies, and the diſcovery of the ſeas that lie ſouth of thoſe countries.

Thus have we ſeen the three firſt univerſal monarchies, viz. the Aſſyrian or Babylonian, the Perſian, and the Grecian, ſuffer terrible ſhocks, and at laſt ſink under luxury and vice. Let us ſee what effect they had upon the fourth, the Roman.

This hiſtory being in every hand, I ſhall be very brief.

How the Roman empire ſunk from one degree to another of luxury, venality, and effeminacy, till at length it was divided into ten kingdoms by the Goths and Vandals, is very well known, and that its ruin was owing to its vices, and to its vices only, which enervated its ancient ſtrength, and gave it a prey to its enemies.

'The deſtruction of the Jews I ſhall barely mention, as their hiſtory is ſo fully delivered in the 'Holy Scripture, for our example. The ſiege of 'their city Jeruſalem, 70 years after Chriſt (which 'he propheſied) is too remarkable to be omitted: 'the city was taken, ſacked, and burned by (*b*) 'Titus, 1,100,000 Jews periſh, 97,000 are taken 'priſoners, beſide an innumerable company that in 'other places of Judea kill themſelves, or periſh 'through famine, baniſhment, and other miſeries. 'The place where the temple ſtood, and even Jeru'ſalem itſelf, is ſcarce now to be found; but of this 'people we have authority to expect the re-eſta'bliſhment.'

(*b*) See Joſephus, and Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. x.

Your patience would fail me, before I could give an account of one half of the fatal effects of luxury and vice upon the other ſtates, empires, and cities of the world: yet I cannot avoid mentioning the deſtruction of the luxurious city of Tarentum, and the ruin of the city and ſtate of the Sybarites. Why ſhould I weary you with a long account of the ancient ſtate and deſtruction of the great city of Corinth? a city once ſo eminent, as to draw upon it the envy of Rome itſelf. Corinth was the key of Greece, and of the greateſt importance, at a time when the people of Greece were a world, and the cities of Greece nations: its trade was very extenſive; but the debaucheries finiſhed the corruption which their opulence began.

Why ſhould I enlarge on the fall of the great city of Conſtantinople? The Turks were ſo enriched at its plunder, that it became a proverb, if any man acquired great wealth on a ſudden, "That he had been at the ſack of Conſtantinople."

The following account of the commerce of the ancients, is chiefly taken from baron de Monteſquieu (*i*).

'The hiſtory of commerce is that of the communication of people; the effect of commerce is riches; the conſequence of riches luxury; and that of luxury the perfection of arts. In the empire of Aſia was a great commerce of luxury. The luxury of the Perſians was that of the Medes, as the luxury of the Medes was that of the Aſſyrians. While theſe empires enjoyed the commerce of luxury, the Tyrians had the commerce of œconomy, which they extended through the world. They had colonies in all the countries bordering upon the ſea, and they paſſed the pillars of Her-

(*i*) Spirit of Laws, book xxi.

cules,

'cules, and made eſtabliſhments on the coaſts of 'the ocean.

'In tracing the progreſs of mankind in the foun-'dation and fall of empires, the beginning and 'ſtate of commerce exhibited itſelf: for as domi-'nion, people, and wealth were tranſlated from 'one place to another, commerce neceſſarily was 'further uſed by wiſe government, as the end as 'well as the means of power.

'The Egyptians, a people who, by their religion 'and their manners, were averſe to all communi-'cation with ſtrangers, had ſcarcely at that time 'any foreign trade: they enjoyed a fruitful ſoil and 'great plenty. So little jealous were theſe people 'of commerce, that they left that of the Red Sea 'to all the petty nations that had any harbours in 'it: here they ſuffered the Idumæans, the Aſſy-'rians, and the Jews to have fleets. Solomon em-'ployed in this navigation the Aſſyrians, who knew 'theſe ſeas. Joſephus ſays, that his nation being 'intirely employed in agriculture, knew little of 'navigation; the Jews, therefore, traded only oc-'caſionally in the Red Sea. They took from the 'Idumæans Elath and Ezion-geber, from whom 'they received this commerce: they loſt theſe two 'cities, and with them loſt the commerce.

'It was not ſo with the Phœnicians; theirs was 'not a commerce of luxury, nor was their trade 'owing to conqueſt; their frugality, their abilities, 'their induſtry, their perils, and the hardſhips they 'ſuffered, rendered them neceſſary to all the na-'tions of the world.

'The ancient commerce, as far as it is known to 'us, was carried on from one port in the Mediter-'ranean to the other.

'Carthage increaſed her power by her riches, 'and afterwards her riches by her power; being 'miſtreſs of the coaſt of Africa, ſhe extended her-

'ſelf along the ocean. We ſee in the treaty which 'put an end to the firſt Punic war, that Carthage 'was principally attentive to preſerve the empire of 'the ſea, and Rome that of the land.

'The Carthaginians found ſo much gold and 'ſilver in the Pyrenean Mountains, that they 'adorned the anchors of their ſhips with both. 'Baron de Monteſquieu takes notice, that in the 'war that broke out about the ſucceſſion of Spain, 'a man, called the marquis of Rhodes, of whom 'it was ſaid, he was ruined in gold mines, and 'enriched in hoſpitals, having had ſome ſhare in 'their management, propoſed to the court of 'France to open the Pyrenean mines. He alledged 'the example of the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, 'and the Romans: he was permitted to ſearch, but 'ſought in vain.

'The Carthaginians being maſters of the gold 'and ſilver trade, were willing to be ſo of the 'lead and tin: theſe metals were carried by land 'from the ports of Gaul upon the ocean to thoſe of 'the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians were de-'ſirous of receiving them at the firſt hand: they 'ſent Himilco to make a ſettlement in the iſlands 'called Caſſiterides, which are thoſe of Scilly '(there is great reaſon to think they were formerly 'part of Cornwall). Theſe voyages into England 'have made ſome people imagine, that the Car-'thaginians and Phœnicians knew the compaſs; 'but it is very certain they followed the coaſts.

'The Romans were never diſtinguiſhed by a 'jealouſy of trade: they attacked Carthage as a 'rival, not as a trading nation: they favoured 'trading cities that were not ſubject to them: thus 'they increaſed the power of Marſeilles by the ceſ-'ſion of a large territory. Their genius, their 'glory, their military education, and the very form 'of their government, eſtranged them from com-

'merce.

'merce. In the city they were employed only 'about war, elections, factions, and law-ſuits; in 'the country about agriculture: and as for the 'provinces, a ſevere and tyrannical government, 'which then prevailed, was incompatible with 'commerce. The calamities of the Carthaginians 'put a period to the navigation of Africa; but it 'was victory alone that decided whether we ought 'to ſay the Punic or the Roman faith.'

It is plain, that when Julius Cæſar landed in Britain, the motive of his expedition was ambition, and not a deſign of commerce.

Commerce, after the fall of the Roman empire, was transferred to the free ſtates of Italy. The Venetians, by Alexandria and the Red Sea, opened a way with Europe for the ſpices and other fine goods of the Eaſt, before any veſſel had as yet paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and a ſhorter paſſage had been diſcovered to the Eaſt Indies.—Venice and Genoa driving the principal trade of the world, and diſperſing the manufactures of Aſia to the different ports, the intereſts of commerce thus cultivated, by theſe means, the Hanſe Towns grew rich and potent; in time Bruges and Sluys, by the immunities granted by their earls, became the centre of commerce: as they had the ſtaple of Engliſh Wool, trade fled from Bruges, and took ſhelter in Antwerp; but tyranny, load of taxes, and perpetual commotions, made the merchants of Flanders retire from thence with the moſt part of their effects, induſtry, and ſkill, into England and Holland, where being protected, trade has flouriſhed, and, in conſequence of the diſcovery of America, has been carried on ſince beyond whatever it was in any other place or country before.

The

The mariners (*k*) compaſs diſcovered, may be ſaid to have diſcovered the univerſe. A conſequence of the diſcovery of America, was the connecting Aſia and Africa with Europe; it furniſhed materials for a trade with that vaſt part of Aſia known by the name of the Eaſt Indies: ſilver, that metal ſo uſeful as the medium of commerce, became now, as a merchandize, the baſis of the greateſt commerce in the world.

The navigation to Africa became neceſſary, in order to furniſh men to labour in the mines, and to cultivate the lands of America.

Europe carries on the trade and navigation of the other three parts of the world, and is arrived to ſo high a degree of power, that nothing in hiſtory can be compared to it.

It is ſaid, that the interior trade of China is much greater than that of all Europe. That might be, if our foreign trade did not augment our inland commerce.

The kingdom of France would have had a better chance to have carried their point of univerſal monarchy, if their councils had been governed conſtantly with regard to the intereſts of commerce; but the perſecuting ſpirit of popery broke in upon their policy, which at one time cauſed the emigration of 100,000 manufacturers, ſoldiers and Proteſtants, who amply repaid England, Germany, and Holland for their piety in receiving them.

Great Britain and Ireland, upon account of their ſituation (as ſhipping can, at any time of the year, come into port, and put out to ſea) are beſt qualified to carry on a glorious and advantageous commerce, which England poſſeſſes in an eminent degree, by ſeamen, by manufactures, by the product

(*i*) Spirit of Laws.

of

of the land and plantations, by the number, opulence, and ingenuity of merchants.

Though the Spaniards and Portugueſe firſt found the way to America, yet their grandeur ſoon vaniſhed, for want of being ſupported by manufactures of their own, and alſo for want of civil liberty.

The mighty power which Charles V. and Philip II. eſtabliſhed, dwindled away and ſunk to nothing under their ſucceſſors; ſo that at laſt they were protected, in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, by thoſe very powers that had been raiſed upon their ruins. A ſtrange revolution this! but of all that has happened in Europe the moſt worthy of attention, becauſe it ſhews us how the moſt potent governments are enfeebled and brought to decay by all-graſping princes, and how Providence counteracts human policy, ſo as to draw events directly contrary to their ambitious intentions.

Theſe are the ravages which the infernal monſter luxury, and its attendant vices, have been making upon the nations of the earth for 3000 years backward. The mightieſt empires, the richeſt kingdoms, the greateſt ſtates, and beſt fortified cities, have fallen before them; and what can Britain then expect but to ſhare their fate, if ſhe does not take warning by their fall?

From this view that we have now taken, the following deductions offer:

I. That in order to perpetuate a nation, commerce and arms muſt be encouraged, as in their nature they mutually ſupport and maintain each other.

II. A good conſtitution of laws, upon the principles of virtue and induſtry, is the ſureſt foundation of empire, and forms what is truly a commonwealth.

III. Trade and commerce will not flouriſh and remain in any ſoil but a land of freedom, where the power and wealth of the ſtate, and the happineſs and ſecurity of the people, are equally balanced.

IV. It is the peculiar lot of Great Britain to have liberty, and the bleſſings deriving from it, to take up their abode with her; and that Ireland does not enjoy the ſhare of this benefit that her connexion, ſituation, and utility, intitle her to.

V. Juſtice and policy demand the union of Ireland, that one thing needful for the honour, power, and wealth of Great Britain.

JUSTICE

JUSTICE AND POLICY.

CHAP. II.

Theſe iſlands one empire.—Arguments in favour of Ireland.—The good effects of unions.

NOTHING is more neceſſary towards compleating and continuing the well-being of mankind, than their preſerving friendſhips and alliances. The ſafety of a government depends upon this; and therefore it is weakened and expoſed to its enemies, in proporiton as it is divided by parties. A kingdom divided againſt itſelf, is brought to deſolation.

Theſe iſlands, Great Britain and Ireland, ought to be conſidered as one nation and kingdom; and that they are not united in the other two branches of the legiſlature as well as the regal, and thereby a ſound conſtitution formed, has been owing to the want of virtue in the members, and not the want of ability to accompliſh it.

'Let us open our minds (ſays Mr. Poſtlethwayt, 'in his diſſertation upon an union) upon an occa-'ſion of ſuch high concernment to the national 'proſperity. Let us think in a more generous 'manner than we have hitherto done; let us think

'that our brethren of Ireland have an equal right
'to liberty, and to all the advantages of human na-
'ture with ourſelves, when it is apparent that the
'kingdom's intereſt requires it; let us credit this
'important truth, that nations are only powerful in
'proportion as they ſhall be wiſely united and ce-
'mented in intereſt; and let us underſtand, that
'no people can be thus united where equal liberty
'and equal advantages are not permitted, upon the
'principles of ſound national policy. Kingdoms
'may admit of monopolies as well as private com-
'panies; and the moſt horrid monopoly of all is,
'where, in a kingdom compoſed of many different
'ſtates, one ſtate is ſuffered to aſſume or engroſs
'any particular advantage, to the excluſion of the
'reſt, when ſuch excluſion gives the foreign rival
'and enemy the advantage over all of them. Such
'monopolies are not found in abſolute monarchies;
'they cannot be maintained without force, and
'force may be allowed in abſolute governments,
'becauſe no liberty can be loſt; but where liberty
'can be loſt, force cannot be admitted, but it will
'be loſt: the liberty, therefore, of Great Britain
'depends in a great meaſure upon the freedom of
'the people of Ireland; and the commerce of that
'kingdom depends upon their reaſonable liberty
'in trade. What ſhould then give us cauſe to he-
'ſitate a moment in regard to their proper union
'with England at this time, when the moſt ſolid
'union is ſo eſſential to the well-being of both?
'Give them a due repreſentative power; the ſame
'conſtitution muſt take away all objection. Is it
'the fear of being underſold by them that prevents
'this great deſign? Whoſe fear can this be? It
'cannot be the fear of the public; for it is well
'known, that every thing gained by Ireland cen-
'tres in Britain at laſt. It muſt be then the fear
'of private men.'

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding the natural wealth of Ireland, the inhabitants in general are the pooreſt of beings, for want of the neceſſaries of life; at the ſame time there can be no doubt but that the land produces corn, meat, wool, and firing in abundance, beſides the bounties of the ſea all around. It might be inquired into, whether our great men would not be better employed, inſtead of quarrelling about the loaves and the fiſhes, to attend to the welfare of a country capable of being rendered of the utmoſt advantage to Great Britain? But ſuch has been the courſe of management, that a ſiſter kingdom, which in a day of diſtreſs might be a comfort to the elder, is obliged to keep an army conſtantly, at a great expence, to ſecure its obedience.

Muſt policy (as an anonymous writer expreſſes it) which is the quinteſſence of refined reaſon, and of all moral perfections the moſt noble and heroic, be prophaned and debaſed, to dawb or gild over the failures of vicious miniſters and miſled princes? Policy, which is the true art of government, was, even among the heathens, reckoned ſo great and ſo excellent a quality, that the *(l)* prince of Latin poets thought he could not beſtow a higher compliment than to make it peculiar to the Romans.

While others may in other arts excel,
Britons / Romans } mind you to rule nations well:
To give the laws of peace belongs to you,
To ſpare the humble, and the proud ſubdue.

(l) Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento
Itæ tibi erunt artes; paciſque imponere morem
Parcere ſubjectis, & de bellare ſuperbos.
HORACE.

The renowned Spencer, who was no leſs qualified for the buſineſs of the ſtate, than for the entertainment of the muſes (being appointed ſecretary to lord Grey, who was created deputy of Ireland in 1580) in his diſcourſe, intitled, A View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wiſe, between Eudoxus and Ireneus, introduces it thus:

'Eudox. But if that country of Ireland, whence 'you lately came, be of ſo good and commodious 'a ſoil as you report, I wonder that no courſe is 'taken for the turning thereof to good uſes, and 'reducing that nation to better government and 'civility.'

'Iren. Marry, ſo there have been good plots 'deviſed, and wiſe councils caſt already, about re'formation of that realm; but they ſay, it is the 'fatal deſtiny of that land, that no purpoſes what'ever, which are meant for her good, will proſper 'or take good effect, which, whether it proceed 'from the very genius of the ſoil, or influence of 'the ſtars, or that Almighty God has not yet ap'pointed the time of her reformation, or that he 'reſerveth her in this unquiet ſtate ſtill for ſome 'ſecret ſcourge, which ſhall by her come unto 'England, it is hard to be known, yet much to be 'feared.'

'Eudox. Surely, I ſuppoſe this but a vain con'ceit of ſimple men, which judge things by their 'effects, and not by their cauſes; for I would ra'ther think the cauſe of this evil, which hangeth 'upon that country, to proceed rather from the 'unſoundneſs of the councils and plots, which 'you ſay have been oftentimes laid for the reforma'tion, or of faintneſs in following and effecting the 'ſame, than of any ſuch fatal courſe appointed of 'God.'

By

By this we find the ſame complaints were made, as to the backwardneſs of the improvements of Ireland, 200 years ago, which ſubſiſt to this day.

The ingenious pens which have been employed upon this ſubject demonſtrate, that the union of Ireland with Great Britain would promote the general happineſs of both.

Perhaps there never was a ſeaſon more proper for this matter to be brought upon the tapis than the preſent, when we have ſo great an armament on foot; becauſe, as Sir Francis Bacon remarks, great acceſſions and unions of kingdoms do likewiſe ſtir up wars. At this time, I ſay, when we are not engaged in war with the moſt powerful and ancient enemy of the nation, who have ever made their advantages of our diſunion at home, and whoſe ſchemes for the deſtruction of the Proteſtant intereſt and trade of Great Britain, have brought about the Family Compact, and diſunited the Proteſtant Powers of Europe. Add to this, that the wiſhed-for time is arrived, that we have a miniſtry formed upon the ſolid baſis of the king's and people's confidence; a fortunate conjunction, which has not happened theſe 150 years. [Written in 1763.

The Britiſh ſenate now ſitting was choſen with the moſt extraordinary unanimity, and is compoſed of thoſe of the firſt rank for virtue, parliamentary experience, abilities, and fortune, and alſo of a conſiderable number of merchants, whoſe commercial knowledge added, muſt make this the moſt fit houſe of commons for the affair of a union to be diſcuſſed in; beſides, the ſtate of parties in Ireland is ſuch, as to render this the moſt eligible time for this meaſure to be taken, in order to conciliate the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, by inducing the Roman Catholics to conform to the eſtabliſhed Church.

Sir

Sir William Temple juſtly remarks, 'That government which takes in the conſent of the greateſt number of people, and conſequently their deſires and reſolutions to ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to have the broadeſt bottom.'—And further, in his Eſſay upon popular Diſcontent, 'A weak or unequal faction (ſays he) in any ſtate, may ſerve to enliven or animate the vigour of a government; but when it grows equal, or nearly proportional in ſtrength or number, and irreconcileable, by the animoſity of the parties, it cannot end without ſome violent criſis, and convulſion of the ſtate, and hardly without ſome new revolution, and perhaps final ruin of the government, in caſe a foreign invaſion enters upon the breaches of civil diſtractions. I ſhall here only regret one unhappy effect of our diſcontents and diviſions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to diſturb our peace, which is, that they divert our greateſt councils from falling upon the conſultations and purſuits of ſeveral acts and inſtitutions which ſeem to be moſt uſeful and neceſſary for the common intereſt and public good of the kingdom, without regard to any partialities, which bury the councils as well as the actions of all factious times.'

I am aware, that the ſubject of a union is of ſo complicated a nature, that it requires a great knowledge of the hiſtory, conſtitution, laws, proportion of people, trade, wealth, preſent condition, and acquaintance with the nature and genius of the people of each kingdom, to be able to ſettle ſuch matters: leaving thoſe difficulties to be decided by the parliaments and commiſſioners, I will only, in a few lines, preſent what has occurred to a private perſon upon this head. It may be unneceſſary to enter into a minute diſquiſition of the advantage of an union,

union, which has ſo often, and by ſo many, been ſtrongly expreſſed. The fable of the old man producing the bundle of rods to his ſons, is a fit emblem upon this occaſion; alſo it is to be remembered, how the ſtrength of the Romans was increaſed by their union with the Sabines, upon which the comitium or councils of the two nations was created, that the ſenates of each might aſſemble together, as Livy relates.

Let this inſtance ſerve, inſtead of many others which might be mentioned.

The monarchy of France owes all its greatneſs to unions of this nature, having always converted all its acquiſitions, and all the provinces that have been united to that crown, either by alliances or by arms, to add to the ſtrength of its own body. Thus Normandy (*m*), Brittany, Burgundy, Guienne, have been added to that monarchy, and Provence and Dauphiny may be reckoned in that number: theſe formerly had different princes and different laws, though ſome of them were feudatory to the crown of France; but being once united to the crown, they were made part of the ſame body, and ſo added weight and ſtrength to that monarchy.

Having laid down theſe general principles, I ſhall now proceed upon the ſubject of uniting Ireland to Great Britain with impartiality. A perſon who is an Anglo-Hibernian born in England, and has dwelt the moſt part of his life in Ireland, may be allowed to have an equal attachment to both countries, and frequently viſiting the grand metropolis; in ſuch a ſituation, being clear of prejudices, one may make ſome diſcoveries, when things are viewed with an impartial eye; being moſtly acquainted with circumſtances relating to Ireland, the parti-

(*m*) See Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xxiv. p. 172.

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culars I intend to handle chiefly relate to that kingdom.

The opinions of Sir John Davis, Sir F. Bacon, Sir Wm. Petty, Sir F. Brewſter, the firſt lord Moleſworth, tranſlator of H Ottoman's Franco Gallia, in his preface to that work, Mr. Molyneux, Sir Matthew Decker, governor Dobbs, Dr. Madden, Mr. Tucker, dean of Glouceſter, Mr. Poſtlethwayt, and others, who have conſidered the ſubject of uniting Great Britain and Ireland, and diſcuſſed the points relative thereto with ſo much candour and abilities, theſe, I ſay, are authorities ſo good, aud their arguments ſo demonſtrably ſtrong, and inconteſtibly true, that I do rely upon the following propoſitions, viz.

Firſt, That a union of Great Britain and Ireland, is the moſt likely way to pay off the national debt, and reduce the taxes of England.

Secondly, That Ireland, by a union, will become a flouriſhing nation, inſtead of being again a burthen upon England; as by a union Popery may be eradicated, by the induſtry of the people, more effectually than by any (* unexcuted) laws.

Thirdly, That in conſequence, the common welfare of theſe three kingdoms (whoſe intereſt ought to be inſeparable) will be increaſed; by opening a free trade the poor will be employed, and commerce will flouriſh upon the deſtruction of the French trade, and other rivals; the Britiſh empire alſo will be exalted, and thereby her colonies and ſettlements abroad ſecured.

* Our laws are good, but ill executed; and a law not executed, is worſe than no law at all, therefore cannot be good; for the weakneſs of a law appearing by its being evaded, makes the people have a mean opinion of the legiſlature, and brings a contempt on our laws in general. A law that by its rewards and puniſhments does not inforce obedience to its commands, is in effect no law at all. Sir MAT. DECKER, p. 60.

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In ſupport of what I have advanced, I beg leave to make a quotation from each of thoſe authors whom I juſt named; and firſt, Sir John Davis, attorney-general of Ireland to king James I. in his Hiſtorical Relations (*n*), ſays, 'This then I note, 'if the Engliſh would neither in peace govern them 'by the law, nor could in war root them out by the 'ſword, they muſt needs be pricks in their eyes, 'and thorns in their ſides, till the world's end, and 'ſo the conqueſt never be brought to perfection. 'If there had been no difference made between 'the nations, in point of juſtice and protection, but 'all had been governed by one equal, juſt, and 'honourable law, as Dido ſpeaketh in Virgil, *Tros 'Tyriuſve mihi nullo diſcrimine habetur.* Aſſuredly, 'the Iriſh countries had long ſince been reformed, 'and reduced to peace, plenty, and civility; which 'are the effects of laws and good government. 'They had builded houſes, planted orchards and 'gardens, erected townſhips, and made proviſion 'for their poſterities: there had been a perfect 'union of the two nations, and conſequently a perfect conqueſt of Ireland: for the conqueſt is never perfect, till the war be at an end; and the 'war is not at an end, till there be peace and unity; 'and there cannot be unity and concord in any one 'kingdom, but where there is but one king, one 'allegiance, and one law.'

The next authority I have to introduce, is Sir William Petty, who was the inventor of a new method of applying arithmetic to doctrines of great importance to the Engliſh crown and nation, and muſt be allowed to be equally a good judge of the public intereſt and his own, in his diſcourſe, intitled, Political Arithmetic, chap. 5. 'That the impedi-'ments to England's greatneſs are but contingent

(*n*) Page 52, Iriſh edition.

'and removeable.' In the articles of the firſt impediment he inſtances, 'That there be three diſtinct legiſlative powers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the which, inſtead of uniting together, do often croſs one another's intereſt, putting bars and impediments upon one another's trades, not only as if they were foreigners to one another, but ſometimes as enemies.

'A ſecond impediment to the greatneſs of England, is, the different underſtanding ſeveral material points, viz. of the king's prerogative, privileges of parliament, the obſcure difference between law and equity, as alſo between civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, doubts whether the kingdom of England has power over the kingdom of Ireland, beſides the wonderful paradox, that Engliſhmen lawfully ſent to ſuppreſs rebellions in Ireland, ſhould, after having effected the ſame, be as it were disfranchiſed, and loſe that intereſt in the legiſlative power which they had in England, and pay cuſtoms as foreigners for all they ſpend in Ireland, whither they were ſent for the honour and benefit of England.

'The third impediment is, that Ireland, being a conquered country, and containing not the tenth part as many Iriſh natives as there are Engliſh in both kingdoms, that natural and firm union is not made between the two people, by tranſplantations, and proportionable mixtures; ſo that there may be but a tenth part of the Iriſh in Ireland, and the ſame proportion in England; whereby the neceſſity of maintaining an army in Ireland, at the expence of a quarter of all the rents in that kingdom may be taken away.' Sir William Petty then aſks this queſtion, viz. 'May not the three kingdoms be united into one, and equally repreſented in parliament? which is anſwered in the affirmative, if it be ſo thought fit by

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'the ſovereign power; becauſe the like has often 'been done already, at ſeveral places and times.'

The next evidence to be produced in favour of a union, is the tranſlator of Hottoman's Franco Gallia, who is known to be the firſt (Robert) lord Moleſworth; one who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, both as a public miniſter abroad (being ambaſſador extraordinary from king William at the court of Denmark) and at home, as a powerful advocate in the ſenate for the liberties of his country, at a dangerous time. His portrait is well expreſſed by himſelf, in his preface to Franco Gallia; an extract from which I beg leave to tranſcribe.—'No man can be a ſincere lover of liberty, 'that is not for increaſing and communicating that 'bleſſing to all people; and therefore, the giving 'or reſtoring it not only to our brethren of Scot-'land and Ireland, but even to France itſelf (were 'it in our power) is one of the principal articles of 'Whiggiſm.

'The eaſe and advantage which would be gained 'by uniting our own three kingdoms upon equal 'terms (for upon unequal terms it would be no 'union) is ſo viſible, that if we had not the example 'of thoſe maſters of the world, the Romans, one 'would wonder that our own experience, in the 'inſtance of uniting Wales to England, ſhould not 'convince us, that although both ſides would in-'credibly gain by it, yet the rich and opulent coun-'try, to which ſuch an addition is made, would be 'the greater gainer.

''Tis ſo much more deſirable and ſecure to go-'vern by love and common intereſt than by force; 'to expect comfort and aſſiſtance, in times of dan-'ger, from our next neighbours, than to find them 'at ſuch a time a heavy clog upon the wheels of 'our government, and to be in dread leſt they

'ſhould take that occaſion to ſhake off an uneaſy 'yoke; or to have as much need of entertaining a 'ſtanding army againſt our brethren, as againſt our 'known and inveterate enemies; that certainly 'whoever can oppoſe ſo public and apparent good, 'muſt be eſteemed either ignorant to a ſtrange 'degree, or to have other deſigns in view, which 'he would not willingly have brought to light.'

The next author to be quoted, is Mr. Molyneux, whoſe writings made a great noiſe in the world. Though I do not approve of the principles of his book in general (as I by no means would chooſe to adopt that of the independency of Ireland) yet, as to the particular point in hand, he muſt be allowed to be clear and right in what he ſays.

Extract from Mr. Molyneux's (*o*) Caſe of Ireland being bound in Acts of parliament in England.

'There have been other ſtatutes and ordinances 'made in England for Ireland, which may reaſon-'ably be of force here, becauſe they were made 'and aſſented to by our own repreſentatives. Thus 'we find, in the white book of the Exchequer in 'Dublin, in the 9th year of Edward I. a writ was 'ſent to his chancellor of Ireland, wherein he 'mentions, *Quædam ſtatuta per nos de aſſenſu præ-'latorum, comitum, baronum, & communitates regni 'noſtri Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln, & quædam 'alia ſtatuta poſt modum apud Eboracum facta.* 'Theſe, we may ſuppoſe, were either ſtatutes 'made at the requeſt of the ſtates of Ireland, to 'explain to them the common law of England, or, 'if they were introductive of new laws, yet they 'might well be of force in Ireland, becauſe enacted

(*o*) Page 37, Dub. edit. 1749.

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'by the aſſent of our own repreſentatives, the lords 'ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Ireland. 'For we find, that in the reign of Edward III. '(and, by what foregoes, it was plain it was ſo in 'Edward I.'s time) knights of the ſhire, citizens, 'and burgeſſes, were elected in the ſhires, cities, 'and boroughs of Ireland, to ſerve in parliament 'in England, and have ſo ſerved accordingly. For 'among the records of the Tower of London, we 'find a writ from the king at Weſtminſter, directed 'to James Butler, lord juſtice of Ireland, and 'to R. archbiſhop of Dublin, his chancellor, re-'quiring them to iſſue writs under the great ſeal of 'Ireland, to the ſeveral counties, cities, and bo-'roughs, for ſatisfying the expences of the men of 'Ireland, who laſt came over to ſerve in parliament 'in England.

'And in another roll, 50 Edward III. on com-'plaint to the king, by John Draper, who was 'choſen burgeſs of Corke by writ, and ſerved in 'the parliament of England, and yet was denied 'his expences by ſome of the citizens, care was 'taken to reimburſe him. If from theſe laſt-men-'tioned records it be concluded, that the parlia-'ment may bind Ireland, it muſt alſo be allowed, 'that the people of Ireland ought to have their re-'preſentatives in the parliament of England. *And 'this, I believe, we ſhould we willing to embrace*; 'but this is an happineſs we can hardly hope 'for.'

The next in order that I muſt have recourſe to, is Sir Matthew Decker, in his Eſſay on the Cauſes of the decline of the Foreign Trade; in which, we may obſerve Sir Matthew has happily united the theory and practice of his profeſſion together, and has pointed out the true intereſt of the nation, and how it ought to be purſued, by ſhewing the ſtrong

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connection there is between land and trade, which he proves to be founded on the reaſon and nature of commerce. His third propoſal for improving the great natural advantages England enjoys, is this:

Third propoſal. To aboliſh monopolies, unite Ireland, and put all the ſubjects of theſe three kingdoms on the ſame footing in trade.

'By an union with Ireland the taxes on Britain 'will be leſſened for the preſent, whereby they will 'contribute to make our goods ſtill cheaper, con-'ſequently more vendible.

'The Iriſh now pay no taxes to the general, but 'only to their private ſupport; whereas the greater 'the number of people are, by whom a ſum is to 'be raiſed, the lighter it falls on each: and the 'more the Iriſh flouriſh on the deſtruction of the 'French trade, the more would they be enabled to 'eaſe the taxes of the people in general; whereby 'all being on the ſame footing, no diſcontent 'could ariſe, but a general improvement ſpread 'over the three kingdoms, without prejudice to 'each other.

'As it will increaſe trade:

'It will employ the poor:

'It will increaſe the ſtock of people:

'It will increaſe our riches.

'By opening the trade of Ireland; which coun-'try being too poor to give it the extent it is ca-'pable of, muſt therefore be carried on by Engliſh 'ſtocks; conſequently a great part of the profit of 'it muſt fall into the hands of the Engliſh mer-'chants: add to which, that above one third of 'what Ireland gets is ſent here for goods, or ſpent 'by abſentees; therefore the richer Ireland grows,

(p) Page 150, Iriſh edition.

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'the richer muſt Britain become; therefore it will 'increaſe the value of our lands.'

Mr. Dobbs, governor of North Carolina, in his Eſſay (*q*) upon the Trade and Improvements of Ireland, is very expreſs upon this ſubject, viz.

'And all the favours they (thoſe in power) ſhew 'us, in concurring with and aſſiſting us in the im- 'provement of Ireland, and enabling us to become 'more wealthy and eaſy, we will gratefully repay, 'by the millions we will throw in upon them from 'the ſurpluſage of our induſtry at home, and com- 'merce abroad. This I am confident, in time 'will increaſe the naval power and wealth of Britain 'to that degree, by the increaſe of its colonies and 'trade abroad, and by the protection of its fleets, 'that they will think it convenient to enlarge the 'bottom at home, and incorporate us with them; 'there being trade and commerce abroad ſuf- 'ficient to employ and maintain all the hands in 'Britain and Ireland, were they double what they 'are.

'As London is now opulent and rich, by being 'the ſeat of empire and reſidence of the court, 'where all the men of fortune and expence do ge- 'nerally reſide, ſo upon ſuch an union, Britain, as 'being the ſeat of empire, would ſtill almoſt en- 'groſs all the wealth, perpetually flowing from all 'the diſtant members and colonies, as from the 'diſtant countries now in London. This is de- 'monſtrably certain, that upon an union with Eng- 'land, and enlargement of the trade of Ireland, 'all the acquired wealth that Ireland would have, 'from a conſtant and regular employment of their 'induſtrious poor, would be poured into England 'by the rich, and Ireland could never be richer or

(*q*) Eſſay on Trade, page 71.

'have

'have more money than what would be ſufficient 'to employ their poor, and circulate their trade: 'for as the blood in the natural body circulates thro' 'the heart in greater quantity and with greater ve- 'locity than thro' the extreams, ſo all the wealth of 'a nation, thro' the capital and centre of empire 'and trade.

'Thus ſhould Ireland increaſe upon an union in 'their numbers and induſtry, and acquire two mil- 'lions from abroad, more than was ſufficient for 'their home conſumption, at leaſt four-fifths of 'this would be carried into Britain, by various and 'many channels. It can then only proceed from a 'narrow and ſelfiſh way of thinking, that Ireland 'can ever be ſuppoſed to rival England in trade, 'whilſt a member of their empire. Were it in 'the hands of a foreign nation, or had it extent 'and number ſufficient to be a ſtate of itſelf, it 'would then be a dangerous rival. No unpreju- 'diced man, who has the real ſecurity and ſtrength 'of the Britiſh empire at heart, but muſt own, that 'the encouraging Ireland, in all the improvements 'it is capable of, by adding to its trade and wealth. 'and uniting its affections to Britain, is doing the 'greateſt ſervice to the public; and the cloſer ſuch 'union is made, and the more powerful we grow 'in Ireland, juſt ſo much the more is added to 'the ſecurity, wealth, power, and fame of Bri- 'tain.'

The next extract I chooſe to make, is from a book publiſhed in the year 1738, intitled, Reflections and Reſolutions proper for the gentlemen of Ireland, as to their conduct for the ſervice of their country, ſaid to be written by Dr. Madden.

There are many who by their ſpeeches and writings have been denominated Patriots; but few who have gone ſo far as to devote their time, and likewiſe

wiſe a great part of their fortune, to forward ſchemes for the public good; yet ſuch a one has Ireland been bleſſed with in the perſon of Dr. Madden, who, without receiving any favour from government, has perſevered in diſpenſing a good income, (as may be ſeen in the liſt of his premiums) for the advancement of the manufactures, the arts, and the commerce of Ireland.

'There be many other advantages (ſays the unmitred doctor, p. 120.) which Great Britain might receive from Ireland, if ſhe pleaſed to make uſe of them; but I ſhall paſs them by, to mention the greateſt and moſt beneficial of them all, which will alſo include them; and that is, to join us to them by an union.

'Nothing but the plain expediency and benefit of an union could have made Cromwell take ſuch paces as we all know he did in this matter; and ſurely the day will yet come, when we ſhall not hang like a dead limb on Great Britain, when we might do ſuch good work for it, if our bandages were removed intirely. The Saxon heptarchy was hardly a more disjointed heap of ſtates than England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland ſeemed before Wales and Scotland were ſo happily united to her; and as Ireland has greatly the advantage of both the laſt, in extent and goodneſs of ſoil, trade, and number of people, it is not improbable ſhe will one day have the ſame happineſs and honours.

'It is certain, there can no objection be made againſt uniting Ireland, which would not be as ſtrong againſt the other two, which would not, in all likelihood, be as happily confuted by the ſucceſs. There are too many friends to liberty in the great aſſembly of the legiſlature in Great Britain, to let ſo large a body of their fellow-ſubjects

'(whoſe liberties are more cloſely, nay, neceſſarily 'united to theirs, than appears to every eye) con- 'tinue uncertain which is their ſupreme legiſlature, 'and who, though ſubjects of Great Britain, are 'abſolutely governed by the prince and his council, 'independent of the Britiſh parliament, and, to 'make their ſituation perfectly odd, a people, who, 'like amphibious animals, are envied as Engliſh- 'men in Ireland, and maligned as Iriſh in Eng- 'land. It is certain, bodies politic, like natural 'ones, are ſo far ſtrong and great, as all their limbs 'are firmly knit and well united, and equally fed 'and nouriſhed; and while Ireland ſtands excluded 'from the favours, rights, and privileges, which her 'fellow-ſubjects in England, Wales, and Scotland 'ſo happily enjoy, ſhe will naturally languiſh and 'pine, like an overſhaded branch, and perhaps at 'laſt die for want of a free air.'

Dr. Lucas, in his ingenious eſſay, intitled, Northern Revolutions, remarks, that

'Nothing proves the wiſdom and virtue of the 'head and members of our great government more 'than their conſtant attention to the perfect and 'inſeparable union of the different ſtates of our do- 'minions, as the moſt certain means of ſtrength- 'ening and ſecuring the whole.

'It is unneceſſary to give inſtances of the regu- 'lar and uniform diſtribution of laws, and even 'the profuſion of regal favours, poured forth in all 'ages of our government, upon the remoteſt part 'of our dominions. The union of two moſt dif- 'ferent regions into one kingdom, and the equal 'protection, freedom, and neceſſary equality in 'trade, granted and maintained to another part, 'are laſting monuments of this truth.

'But

'But if any ſhould be blind or abſurd enough to 'doubt it, let them ſee what ſenſe of the neceſſity 'of this equality was retained in Britain, even in 'times of uſurpation and anarchy.

'Ireland ſeems to be in a thriving condition, if 'we can judge of the increaſing wealth of a nation 'by its increaſing number of nobility. The Iriſh 'have long thought themſelves treated by the Eng-'liſh as a conquered country in nothing more than 'in matters of trade. It is certain, the Iriſh have 'not only wool and fullers-earth in as great perfec-'tion as the Engliſh, but have abundantly the ad-'vantage of them in the manufacturing it. Their 'ſituation alſo for an extended trade is more advan-'tageous than that of any other nation in Europe, 'their harbours being many and commodious. 'Their inhabitants likewiſe are numerous and 'hardy, inured to want and labour, eaſy to feed, 'and able, upon poor fare, to run through a great 'deal of work. But as the Iriſh think the reſtric-'tions, in regard to the woollen manufacture, a 'hardſhip upon them, they have long clandeſtinely 'exported their raw wool to France, which, per-'haps, has proved more prejudicial to England, 'than if they had been permitted to manufacture 'it at home.

'If the gain of England, on the general balance 'of her trade with all the world, is no more than '2,000,000l. yearly, according to Dr. Davenant 'and others, how would the Engliſh have been able 'to ſupport themſelves with matter for ſuch an ex-'ceſs of luxury and profuſion, as has heretofore 'been lately known, and at the ſame time have 'maintained ſuch long and expenſive wars, had not 'the wealth they received annually from Ireland 'fed them with money and ſupplies?

'If both kingdoms were incorporated, the benefit on both ſides would be inexpreſſibly great; Ireland thereby muſt grow rich, and her riches would centre in England; both would be more united, and conſequently more formidable; even religious diſtinctions may ſoon be loſt.'

The next quotation upon this head is taken from an ingenious eſſay on the advantages and diſadvantages which reſpectively attend France and Great Britain, with regard to trade, written by Dr. Tucker, dean of Glouceſter.

His third propoſal for increaſing the trade and credit of Great Britain:

'To incorporate both the Britiſh Iſles together, and to make one kingdom, in all reſpects, as to parliament, trade, and taxes.

'This propoſal of incorporation has long been the wiſh of every diſintereſted patriot of both kingdoms: and indeed inexpreſſibly great would be the benefit on both ſides; the Iriſh would ſhare in the advantage of our trade, and we in theirs: by permitting them to get rich at the expence of the French, they would be enabled to eaſe us of the burthen of the worſt and heavieſt of our taxes: whereas at preſent, the French, through our unaccountable infatuation, get rich at their expence.

'By this mutual benefit, neither kingdom would be looked upon as foreign to the other, but the goods of both would be imported duty-free, or perhaps be conſidered only as coming coaſt-wiſe: the hoſtile prohibition againſt wearing or uſing the produce of either kingdom, would be repealed, and all that unnatural war between the commerce of the two nations be at an end. But here ſelf-intereſt makes an outcry, They would run away with our trade. The people of Yorkſhire

'have

'have done the ſame thing by Glouceſterſhire and 'Wiltſhire. Is Ireland to be looked upon as a di-'ſtinct kingdom? ſo is Yorkſhire a diſtinct county. 'Is Ireland a great way diſtant from England? 'Yorkſhire is at a greater diſtance ſtill from the 'counties above-mentioned; and the commerce 'between them is not ſo eaſy by land, for the pur-'poſes of commerce, as the other is by ſea.

'But Ireland is more advantageouſly ſituated for 'the trade to the Weſt Indies; therefore we muſt 'deny our own people the benefit of trading, be-'cauſe they are advantageouſly ſituated for carrying 'it on. This is a weighty argument; Briſtol, for 'inſtance, is better ſituated for the Iriſh trade than 'London: therefore let us Londoners petition that 'the port of Briſtol may be locked up.'

Dr. Tucker's 4th Propoſal.

After ſuch an union of the two kingdoms as above propoſed,

'To lay by degrees the Engliſh taxes upon Ire-'land, and to eaſe the Engliſh of the moſt burthen-'ſome of theirs in the ſame gradual manner. Sup-'poſe, therefore, the firſt year, that the Engliſh 'laws of exciſe, and the duties upon French wines 'and brandies, are extended to Ireland; then Eng-'land might be eaſed of the ſalt tax, the ſame year, 'or the following one. If, in the ſecond year, Ire-'land were charged with the ſtamp and paper du-'ties, England might be diſcharged of the tax upon 'ſoap and candles. If, in the third, a tax was laid 'upon the window-lights in Ireland, the coal du-'ties might be taken off in England. If, in the 4th, 'the tax was laid upon coaches, this would enable 'the parliament to diſcontinue the duty upon lea-'ther. Laſtly, if, in the fifth year, Ireland was

'ſubjected

'ſubjected to a land-tax, this would eaſe the land 'and houſes of England of at leaſt one third of 'their burthen.'

Extract from an anonymous writer in 1704.

'It is not the deſign of this diſcourſe to examine 'whether laws made in England ought to bind Ire-'land; it being ſufficient for thoſe of that nation to 'know, that this is a power which England claims, 'and is able to vindicate.

'It is not to be denied, but that ſometimes a go-'vernment may lie under a neceſſity of putting al-'moſt any hardſhip upon one part of its people, 'when either the preſervation, or much greater 'good of the whole, or greater part of the people, 'does evidently require it. Such methods are hum-'bly offered as ſeem moſt natural and proper to 'take away the cauſe of complaint from Ireland, 'and the jealouſy of England.

'There are three ways of maintaining con-'queſts, or annexed governments; by colonies, 'unequal leagues, or by a ſtanding force. The 'deſign of maintaining conqueſts, or annexed go-'vernments, by colonies, is to avoid the expence 'and hazard that attends their being maintained by 'a ſtanding force: from which deſign it plainly fol-'lows, that after colonies are once ſettled, and have 'a conſtitution given them agreeable to that of 'their mother country, they muſt be afterwards in-'dulged the liberty of making their own laws, pro-'vided they be not repugnant to the laws of their 'mother country. The Romans, indeed, gave them 'another privilege, and that was, to be governed 'by their own magiſtracy; and, for theſe reaſons, 'the Romans were always moſt faithfully ſerved by 'their colonies; for no alteration could mend their

'condition,

'condition. But if colonies are denied the liberty 'of making their own laws, and are governed in 'pure ſubjection, the nation that ſends them is 'doubly a loſer; firſt, as it is weaker, by ſending 'abroad ſo many of its people; and, ſecondly, thoſe 'very colonies, that were intended to keep the con-'quered or annexed country in obedience, muſt 'themſelves be kept in ſubjection by force. Thus 'Platea was a Bœotian colony, and oppreſſed by its 'mother country: the Plateans, to deliver them-'ſelves from oppreſſion, threw themſelves into the 'protection of Athens, who made them free deni-'zens; and, in gratitude, they ever afterward fol-'lowed the fortune of that city, even to their own 'extermination.

'''Tis very hazardous for a commonwealth to 'maintain its conqueſts by force; but then if it 'takes this method, or be under any other neceſ-'ſity of being always in arms, it muſt be ſure to 'change its generals every year, and its armies fre-'quently. While Rome continued this method, it 'preſerved its liberty. A free monarchy can never 'maintain any conqueſt in pure ſubjection or ſlavery: 'and the reaſon is the ſame in a free government 'only annexed to its crown; for all other methods 'will be found ineffectual, but force only, to main-'tain ſuch a government; and that is a method 'that a free monarchy can never take, unleſs it does 'it by colonies; but then thoſe colonies (*r*) muſt be 'maintained

(*r*) A few years ago, part of the army was ordered into Eyre Connaught, to inforce the execution of the laws in that diſtrict, which runs from Galway to the county of Mayo, and inhabited by ſome of Oliver's ſoldiers, particularly the Joyces, who, in the courſe of 100 years, are quite degenerated; and indeed, in general, the Britiſh colonies, ſent from time to time to Ireland, have for the moſt part degenerated, and, by mixing with the

'maintained in liberty, that they may think it their 'intereſt faithfully to diſcharge their duty, and 'watch over the preſervation of the province. But 'if the colonies are deprived of their liberty, and 'governed in pure ſubjection, it would be no longer 'their intereſt either to maintain themſelves in obe-'dience, or take care of the province, and conſe-'quently thoſe very colonies muſt be kept in ſub-'jection by force. Hence it will follow, that either 'England muſt ſuffer Ireland to live in liberty, or 'elſe they muſt maintain it in ſubjection by a con-'ſtant force, and conſequently it muſt maintain that 'government by methods contradictory to its own 'conſtitution; which is ſuch an inequality, as muſt 'ſome time deſtroy the liberty of England.

'Perhaps an increaſe of prerogative is more 'tempting to the ambition of limited monarchs 'than an increaſe of dominion. This deſire and 'endeavour to increaſe their prerogative being the 'common failing of princes, it is not hard to con-'ceive, that where a king governs ſeveral nations, 'under different degrees of liberty, he may en-'deavour to put thoſe who enjoy a greater degree 'of liberty upon the ſame foot with thoſe who en-'joy a leſs degree of liberty; or that thoſe na-'tions, when dextrouſly managed by a deſigning 'and ambitious prince, may become inſtruments of 'ſlavery one againſt another.

'Theſe are the inequalities in our conſtitution 'which gave king Charles I. the means to puſh on 'his ambitious deſigns, by playing the three king-'doms one againſt the other. Cromwell ſo united 'the three kingdoms, that, during ſome part of

the natives, have become the ſame in religion, cuſtoms, language, and manners, and the moſt troubleſome enemies to their mother country.

'his

'his government, they were repreſented by one 'parliament. But then this union was deſtroyed by 'Charles II. immediately upon the Reſtoration, as 'being directly repugnant to his deſigns, which 'were to extend his prerogative as far as he could, 'without running too great a riſk.

'This union being taken away by king Charles 'II. and afterwards by James II. gave them an op-'portunity of extending their power almoſt as far 'as they pleaſed: for the firſt parliament that ſat in 'Ireland after the Reſtoration, thought it made a 'good compoſition in ſettling a large hereditary re-'venue on king Charles, on condition that he would 'give them the act of ſettlement, which ſeemed to 'ſecure the Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom.

'By this means parliaments became almoſt un-'neceſſary there, and none were called for the ſpace 'of 27 years; ſo that there being no check in Ire-'land upon the government, to ſtop its violences 'and uſurpations, it was eaſy for king James II. to 'model Ireland ſo as to make it ſupport him in his 'arbitrary deſigns here. The different degrees of 'liberty under which England and Scotland are go-'verned, puts Ireland upon a very different foot-'ing from what the province or united government 'of a free monarchy ought to be: and this has 'cauſed ſuch an inequality in the Engliſh conſtitu-'tion, as has (within the memory of man) twice 'endangered our liberty. The only precautions 'that England can take to prevent any danger that 'may arrive to it from Ireland, are, 1ſt, To in-'truſt the government and army in the hands of 'Engliſhmen; or, 2dly, To check the growth of 'that kingdom in point of trade and wealth, ſo 'that it may not be able to attempt any thing againſt 'the conſtitution of England.

'If then it be ſufficient pledge for the ſecurity of 'the Engliſh conſtitution and liberty, either to 'maintain Ireland by an army, or to keep it poor, 'it is ſomewhere elſe to be ſought for. And here 'we humbly propoſe incorporating that kingdom 'into the kingdom of England, as an adequate 'remedy againſt the inequalities before taken no-'tice of.

'The moſt effectual way to make any conſtitu-'tion firm and laſting, is, to make it the viſible in-'tereſt of the whole body of the people to preſerve 'it, or, in other words, to make the conſtitution of 'England the conſtitution of Ireland.

'Thus then, after this union, the ſubjection of 'Ireland to England would be the effect of its 'choice, and not of force, becauſe founded in in-'tereſt; nay, it would be ſo much the effect of its 'choice, that were the offer made to them, they 'would refuſe to be an independent kingdom; be-'cauſe the ſecurity and protection which they would 'enjoy after a union, would much outweigh all the 'advantages which they could propoſe to themſelves 'in an independent ſtate.

'There are but two ways of preſerving Ireland; 'by force, if we make it their intereſt not to obey; 'and this is repugnant to our conſtitution; or 'without force, if we make it their intereſt to obey; 'and this is not only agreeable to our conſtitution, 'but will greatly ſtrengthen and ſecure it. If then 'there are but two ways to preſerve Ireland, and 'one of them is repugnant to our conſtitution, and 'the other agreeable to it, the choice does not ſeem 'difficult.

'It is apparent from experience, both in king 'Charles I.'s reign, and in that of king James II. 'that a force in Ireland is as dangerous to the li-'berty of England as a force here; the means of

'tranſporting

'transporting them being very ready, and always in 'the power of the king.

'The true way to increaſe the manufactures of 'England, conſiſts in working them truly and cheap-'ly; as for what relates to the working them truly, 'we ſhall paſs that over, it being no way material 'to our preſent purpoſe.

'Cheap manufacturing is effected by the cheap-'neſs of materials and cheapneſs of labour. As for 'cheapneſs of materials, we will only inſiſt on wool; 'and here we are to obſerve, that the duty upon 'wool exported out of Ireland to England, and the 'wool licences, are ſo conſiderable, as to make the 'wool of Ireland, generally ſpeaking, bear propor-'tion to the wool of England in its price as 17 is 'to 25.

'Taking the whole woollen manufacture in groſs, 'the price of wool is generally ſuppoſed to be qua-'drupled in the manufacture; ſo that 25l. worth 'of wool is ſuppoſed to be worth 100l. when 'manufactured; and the 75l. is the price of 'labour.

'Next to the cheapneſs of materials we will con-'ſider the price of labour; and we will here ſhew 'how that will be effected by the union, not only 'to the great increaſe of the woollen manufacture, 'but in general to the whole manufactures, trade, 'and ſhipping of the nation: for then the prohi-'bition that now lies upon the Iriſh cattle, muſt be 'taken away. But ſome gentlemen have of late 'been of opinion, that if, in favour of that king-'dom, we repealed the prohibition act, it would 'be a compenſation to that people for the woollen 'act lately paſſed here, and be a motive to them 'chearfully to ſubmit to it.

'The number of the Britiſh inhabitants is the 'only ſecure pledge we have for the ſecurity of our 'government in Ireland; the generality of the ma-'nufacturers being Proteſtants, both their manu-'factures and conſiderable towns are ſupported by 'their trade, which conſiſts almoſt wholly in the 'exportation of their beef, butter, hides, tallow, '&c. It is plain, that theſe trades are only a con-'ſequence of the prohibition act. If then the pro-'hibition act were repealed, and the union not 'granted, thoſe trades muſt certainly fall of courſe. 'Abſtracted from theſe conſiderations, we can ne-'ver believe, that we have ſo far forgot our poſte-'rity in that kingdom, as to endeavour their utter 'ruin and deſpair; which it is eaſy to effect, by 'taking off the prohibition, and denying the 'union.

'The prohibition being taken off, as an effect 'of the union, we preſume that the prices of fleſh 'and candles in England would fall conſiderably; 'the prices of butter and cheeſe would likewiſe fall, 'becauſe England, after the union, would be obliged 'to feed much greater numbers of cattle than now 'it does. Thus the means of living being made 'eaſier, there is no doubt but the price of labour 'would fall throughout England. The fall of the 'price of labour in England, would enable us to ſell 'our woollen manufacture at leaſt ſix per cent. 'cheaper than now.

'By the alteration which the union will make in 'the price of wool, we ſhall be able to work one 'per cent. cheaper than we do now, by the lower-'ing the price of labour ſix per cent. cheaper; and 'the price of our wool being raiſed upon France, 'they will be forced to work one per cent. dearer; 'and we forcing them to ſell ſeven per cent. cheaper,

'this

'this will be a difference of about 8 per cent. upon them.

'If we consider the advantages we have over France, both from the nature of our government and the goodness of our wool, we make no difficulty to affirm, that if by the union we forced this 8 per cent. upon them, their woollen manufacture for exportation would be wholly lost, or rendered very inconsiderable.

'No nation in Europe could be able to make any advantage of the loss this union would bring upon the French and Dutch manufactures but England and Ireland: England would gain, by very much, the greatest part; yet the little Ireland would gain would be very considerable to it.—England and Ireland would gain just as much as the French and Dutch would lose.

'If England by the union could put itself upon the foot of victualling cheaper, this, added to the other advantages we would receive in our manufactures, would greatly increase our east land trades, and enable us to carry them on more with our commodities, and less with our ready money, than we are forced to do at present. He that is forced to carry on a war longest, is likely to end it with greatest honour and advantage; and by the union we could certainly victual our men of war cheaper than now.

'The mighty stock of London is the sole cause why the greatest part of the trade of the rest of England consists in being subservient to the trade of London: and as the chief trade of the rest of England, so will the trade of Ireland consist in being subservient to the trade of England; and consequently Ireland, notwithstanding its situation, can never be a rival to England, either in its West

'India

'India or Streights trade, nor in its manu-
'nufactures.

'Laſtly, Ireland, under its preſent circumſtances,
'lies under ſeveral prohibitions and reſtrictions;
'ſome of which are abſolute, and ſome relative to
'England. The true effects of theſe prohibitions
'and reſtrictions have been to force that nation up-
'on clandeſtine trades, greatly to the prejudice of
'both nations, and to the benefit of foreigners, who
'make good uſe of theſe our miſtakes; or elſe they
'have openly and avowedly forced and turned the
'courſe of the Iriſh trade and dealings from this to
'other nations. Nothing can ſet us upon a right
'footing in relation to one another, but a union:
'for Ireland being made hereby into the nature of
'a county of England, and conſequently the trade
'and communication of thoſe kingdoms being as
'free and eaſy as between any two parts of the
'ſame county, it will naturally and neceſſarily fol-
'low, that the buſineſs and trade of Ireland will be
'diverted from foreign nations, and chiefly con-
'fined to England. So that England will put itſelf
'into a more full and abſolute poſſeſſion of the Iriſh
'trade, than ever it had or can have, under any
'other circumſtances than thoſe of an union.'

The light of the ſciences, and the law of elo-
quence (the great Bacon) did not omit this ſubject
of unions. See his Eſſay on the doctrine of go-
vernment, under the title, "The Military Statef-
man; or, A Specimen of enlarging the bounds of
Empire." See particularly his ſecond ſpeech in par-
liament on civil occaſions, upon the general natu-
ralization of the Scottiſh nation; alſo ſee Bacon's
letters to the king and others, with his diſcourſe of
the plantations of Ireland.

Inſtead

Inſtead of more quotations, the reader is referred, for further proof and ſatisfaction upon the ſubject, to a quarto pamphlet, publiſhed in 1706, intitled, "The Queen an Empreſs, and her three Kingdoms one Empire;" and to a propoſal for uniting Great Britain and Ireland in 1751, and ſeveral more; alſo to the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland to queen Anne in 1707, upon the union of England and Scotland.

Having recited theſe quotations in ſupport of the propoſitions I laid down, it remains to deliver a plan for a union.

By theſe iſlands being formed into one ſociety, and being one people, the calamities which our anceſtors have undergone by perpetual wars, and the dangers we are expoſed to in a ſeparate ſtate, would be prevented. As we have all the happineſs to be under the ſame king, let us have one language, one law, one religion, and one intereſt together, and the ſtill modern diſtinction between Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh men extinguiſhed. The abolition of the Iriſh cuſtoms and language, I reckon, would be none of the leaſt of the advantages to the united kingdoms: for it is ſcarce to be imagined how much Popery, conſequently ignorance and ſuperſtition, idleneſs and poverty, are fed by this language, if it deſerves to be called one. The ſpeaking of Iriſh is artfully kept up by the Popiſh prieſts abroad in the ſeminaries, as well as at home; and that the Proteſtant intereſt ſuffers hereby, is evidenced in thoſe places in Ireland where induſtry prevails by the introduction of the linen manufacture. The province of Ulſter being ſo well planted with induſtrious colonies from England and Scotland, did leaſt demand the linen buſineſs to be confined to them. Had Munſter and Connaught at firſt been employed in this manufacture, the ſtate and condi-

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tion of thoſe countries would have been greatly bettered, as this trade would have found its way every where, eſpecially to Spain and Portugal, through the ports of Corke, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, and Sligo, and Scotland could not be conſidered as rivalling us in this branch of buſineſs.

Upon mentioning the linen manufacture, it cannot but be remarked here, that there has been a train of miſmanagement in regard to the improvement of Ireland: for the ſingle branch of trade (the linen) it has been indulged in, by a ſtrange kind of fatality was confined to one province, and that the moſt unfit, by its ſituation and other circumſtances, to carry it on for the advantage of the nation, becauſe of the poverty and backwardneſs of the ſoil, while the other more fertile provinces are depopulated, for the want of manufactures; theſe being chiefly laid out for paſtures, agriculture is neglected, and the poor ſent a wandering.

The miſconduct and frauds relative to our linen buſineſs have been ſo fully ſet forth by others, that I ſhall only ſay upon this head, that when our neighbours and rivals in this branch have gained a preſence to us, then we ſhall lament our folly.

The happineſs and glory of theſe iſlands being chiefly in my view, it will be to the purpoſe to prove, that by means of induſtry and morality (I confine myſelf now to Ireland) the number of the people may be increaſed. And ſurely to reſcue the common natives of this country from the moſt abject condition, little above brutes, both in their circumſtances of mind and body, is a work both of humanity and utility; but more glorious will it be, inſtead of thouſands, young and old, periſhing in a year, through miſery and inattention, who might be ſaved; and other thouſands forſaking their homes,

homes, to go into foreign ſervice, who thereby become enemies to their country; I ſay, to have multitudes of wretches preſerved and enabled to obtain and enjoy the bleſſings Providence has placed around them, and theſe, by common prudence, in a few years to be converted into double the number of induſtrious people and uſeful ſubjects. · One would think, that Chriſtianity, as well as policy, would direct herein.

To explain this matter, I will put down the common people of Ireland, that are a load upon themſelves and the public, at one million: this is evident from the univerſal ſtate of poverty, diſeaſes, and begging throughout the whole country. Allow that of all that are born, half die under five years old; ſay that half of theſe would die by the courſe of nature: if proviſion was made for theſe creatures, by which I mean, if good management prevailed, and trade was circulated through the interior parts of Ireland, and a Foundling Hoſpital erected in each province, more than three-fifths of the children might be preſerved, under careful management and inoculation.

I am ſorry I cannot take my proof of this from our Poor-houſe erected in Dublin; but thoſe wiſe and glorious inſtitutions, the Foundling Hoſpitals of London, Paris, and other cities, demonſtrate this: for inſtance, in the Royal Hoſpital at Liſbon, out of 1251 foundlings (maintained by the king, without knowledge of their parents) in the year 1718, there died 469 (*s*), remained 782.

(*s*) See the Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. ii. part 4. upon the bills of mortality of ſeveral conſiderable towns of Europe.

So that if the poor were employed, and care taken to puniſh the wicked and lazy, to provide for the diſeaſed, the impotent, and the aged, and to nurture the young (concerning which articles I ſhall be more explicit) the number of people would be exceedingly increaſed: for trade begets a briſkneſs of induſtry, which begets wealth, that begets cleanlineſs and health, and together produce happineſs and good morals; conſequently, that maxim being true, that the greater number of people is the greater gain, the commonwealth will be benefited, by the increaſing population, in a certain period of years.

'We ought (ſays the writer of the Characteriſtics, part i.) to extend our notions of trade, and conſider not only how much money it gains to a nation, but how far it is conducive to the happineſs of the people, that government and policy is beſt where moſt people are moſt happy and eaſy. Neither government nor trade ought to be managed with the ſole view of purchaſing vaſt riches to a few, at the expence of grinding the faces of the poor, and of rendering the labouring people, who are a great body of a nation, miſerable. The ſyſtems of too many, both merchants and landed gentlemen, tend to no other purpoſe: we ought to propoſe more equitable and more merciful ſchemes.'

Should it pleaſe Heaven to unite the legiſlature of England, Ireland, and Scotland, then may theſe kingdoms receive the united bleſſings of Judah, Iſſachar, and Zebulun, thoſe tribes of the Iſraelites* that compoſed the firſt troop, which marched next the ark; and THE STRONG Ass, couching down between two burthens (Oppreſſion and Popery) praiſe Judah, and ſhall be for an haven of ſhips.

* Geneſis, chap. xlix. ver. 8. 13, 14.

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The importance of finding employment for the common people of Ireland, is greater than for any other of the king's ſubjects, upon account of the Popiſh religion, alſo because of their poverty: of more than three millions of ſouls in Ireland, who live chiefly on potatoes and milk, above two millions are Papiſts.

We may obſerve, with Sir William Davenant, 'That the bodies of men are, without doubt, the 'moſt valuable treaſure of a country.'

JUSTICE AND POLICY.

CHAP. III.

PLAN OF AN UNION.

AT this time, upon certain conſiderations, the publication of this Chapter is deferred.

JUSTICE AND POLICY.

CHAP. IV.

Reflections on Colonies, Trade, Police, &c.

A Principal advantage that would accrue to the public by an union, is, that the duty upon French wines would be as high in Ireland as in England; whereby the exceſſive uſe of claret in Ireland (which enriches France, and impoveriſhes us) would be almoſt laid aſide: For is it not infamous, that claret ſhould be ſo univerſally drank as it is by the middle ſort of people in Ireland; I mean, by thoſe from 50l. to 300l. a year income, and by tradeſmen at their clubs, corporation feaſts, and meetings; inſomuch, that there are more wine merchants in Dublin than in London. By the way, it is an Iriſh bull to drink proſperity to Ireland in French wine, when we ſhould drink the liquors of our own growth and manufacture. What ſhould hinder us from making good beer and ale, cyder, perry, mead, various wines, wholeſome, ſtrong, and of excellent flavour, if we pleaſed, for our own conſumption?

'Beſide claret, we have ſeveral other exotics, 'which we pretend it is impoſſible to do without, 'becauſe we have accuſtomed ourſelves to them; 'for

'for inſtance, tea, which in itſelf has not half the 'virtues of our own ſage, balm, and roſemary, we 'daily uſe, and at the ſame time forget we have 'thoſe in our own gardens and markets, greatly 'preferable to the deſtructive foreigner. We can 'come at theſe things too eaſily, cry the rich; we 'will leave them to the poor, who will not in the 'leaſt thank them for their charity, but will ſtrip 'off the laſt rag, rather than not indulge themſelves 'in the ſame folly. So great is the force of ex-'ample!'

A letter in the General Evening Poſt, which accounts for the reaſon that the ſame duty is not laid upon French wine in Ireland as in England, runs thus:

To the Printer of the General Evening Poſt.

'SIR, Dublin, July 24, 1759.

'The many letters I have ſeen publiſhed in your 'paper, tending to the honour of his majeſty and 'the good of his dominions, make me requeſt 'you to give this a place therein; by which it 'will appear how much the French king is enabled 'to carry on the war, by the vaſt ſums of money his 'ſubjects now get by the trade carried on between 'Ireland and Bourdeaux.

'By his majeſty's declaration of war, his ſubjects 'are forbid to have any trade or correſpondence 'with France; yet, notwithſtanding this declara-'tion, I will take upon me to ſay, that there have 'been publicly entered at this cuſtom-houſe, within 'theſe twelve months, above 25,000 hogſheads of 'wine, which, at 8l. per hogſhead (the price of 'the French wine delivered aboard at Bourdeaux) 'amounts to 200,000l. This wine is brought to 'us moſtly by Dutch or Portugueſe ſhips, which in-

'voice

'voice it as French wine brought from either Holland or St. Sebaſtian in maſked ſhips. The duty this wine pays here is 3l. per hogſhead, which amounts to 75,000l.—Much about the ſum we pay yearly in penſions ſettled on this kingdom.

'The brandies, and other goods imported from France, amount to near as much as the wine. Should any perſon aſk, how it comes that ſo much French goods are at this time permitted to be imported into Ireland? they will be told, that the eſtabliſhment here could not be ſupported without this importation: ſo that, in order that the revenue of Ireland may receive duties on French goods to the amount of 150,000l. per annum, the inhabitants thereof, for thoſe goods, pay the French about half a million a year. This is a trade that cannot be a ſecret to either the government of England or Ireland; as the bills of entries in the cuſtom-houſe of Dublin are as publicly printed as thoſe of the cuſtom-houſe of London: by which entries it appears, that, for ſundry days within this month paſt, there have been entered in this cuſtom-houſe above 1000 hogſheads of French wine per day. The truth of what I have here ſet forth, you may rely on; all of which is humbly ſubmitted to the conſideration of thoſe whom it concerns, by

'Your humble ſervant.'

This leads me to another obſervation. By leſſening the importation of French commodities, and a free trade opened, the officers of the revenue that would be unneceſſary might be employed more advantageouſly for the public and themſelves, which would be a great eaſe to the eſtabliſhment, and a great deal of ſlavery and immorality removed: for in the manner the buſineſs of the revenue has been carried

carried on, fraud and corruption increaſe, and a cuſtom-houſe oath is too much become a jeſt, to the great ſcandal of the revenue officers, and of religion.

Nature has furniſhed theſe iſlands with two inexhauſtible ſtocks, a rich inland ſoil, and a fertile ſea-coaſt. The want of attention to theſe two grand points in Ireland, would incline one to imagine that there was ſome peculiarity in the air, or ſomewhat elſe, which has an effect upon the underſtanding and conduct of the inhabitants of this land, inſomuch, that any meaſure that is undertaken for the benefit of it, ſeldom comes to perfection. Talk to the gentlemen of Ireland, they lay down excellent ſchemes for the advantage of the country, and even ſet out well about them; at the ſame time, there is no place in the world where, for want of public ſpirit, national affairs are more neglected, and undertakings drop in the execution; elſe why is not agriculture more followed, and the inquiries after mines, particularly coal, more encouraged? Why are not our (*t*) rivers (which are ſo well diſpoſed by nature for our benefit) made navigable, after the immenſe ſums granted for the purpoſe, that corn, firing, and other neceſſaries, may be tranſported from the diſtant counties? Why are not the fiſheries ſought after, which, by creating employment at home, would ſupply us with food, and furniſh ſeamen? From this field alone wealth and ſtrength may be gathered, enough to ſubdue our enemies, and keep down our rivals.

Is it really the caſe that Dutchmen alone are capable of theſe works? Or are we to wait till the French king has made himſelf lord of Holland, to ſet about, in earneſt, the improvement of our

(*t*) Some progreſs is making in the inland navigation.

country,

country, and the fiſheries around it, then Ireland muſt be the barrier againſt France.

As France, by means of the Dutch being gained over, may make Ireland the theatre of war, which may decide the fate of commerce, what will avail all our conqueſts in America and elſewhere, if Ireland ſhould be diſmembered? Should not, therefore, the bottom be enlarged at home by an union, before Britain proceeds further in her views of empire?

Britain, by confining the Plantation trade to herſelf, means, that the Colonies ſhould be kept in an abſolute dependance. As Ireland had and has its ſhare, both in colonizing, furniſhing the army, and otherwiſe ſupplying America, the difficulties it is under, with regard to the Plantation trade, by entering and landing all enumerated goods firſt in Britain, the hazard, loſs, and delay attending, ſhews a manifeſt partiality; and it muſt be confeſſed, theſe reſtrictions put us upon a worſe footing (tho' a kingdom) than the youngeſt colony.

If there was a neceſſity of bridling the trade of Ireland, ſurely, for the ſake of the Proteſtant intereſt, the intercourſe between Popiſh countries, particularly France and Ireland, which is ſo detrimental, ſhould rather have been broken off, than that we ſhould be under any reſtriction of trading with our brethren of the Colonies; the one would have thrown the nation in general into a right bias of trade; the other is a deſtructive commerce, at once undoing us with luxuries, and feeding the Popiſh religion, by keeping a conſtant communication with France, Spain, and Portugal. There is room for five times more commerce than is carried on in the Indies, which Ireland ſhould ſooner be permitted to have than France.

An anonymous writer obſerves, 'That Ireland 'alone has more good ports and bays, and a 'largerſea-coaſt, than all France, and lies far more 'convenient for trade; and if it was improved to 'its full native capacity, after an union, it will 'maintain an equal, if not ſuperior trade to France, 'and conſequently equal, if not exceed it in its ma-'ritime power; upon the whole, if all national 'privileges, now enjoyed by each kingdom, were 'communicated to all the ſubjects of the whole 'empire, by a general naturalization, and a free 'trade opened between kingdom and kingdom, 'after we have ſome years reaped the advantages 'of it, we may reaſonably hope to ſee the number 'of our ſhips and ſeamen doubled.'

I cannot paſs over the diſingenuity of ſome Engliſh writers upon trade, in the diſregard they ſhew for Ireland, particularly the Britiſh Merchant; a work profeſſedly, by the title-page, ſaid to be a collection relative to the trade and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland: little notice is taken of the latter, in ſumming up the amount of the profit of their trade with all nations, and the benefit ariſing from their own interior trade; no account is given of their gain by Ireland. It is plain, that this is an intended omiſſion, that ſo little mention is made of Ireland; and as this compoſition was deſigned for a ſtandard, and a book for the members of parliament and merchants to recur to, why an article for Ireland was not placed in the index, I ſubmit to the honour and generoſity of the Britiſh merchants, ſo highly extolled in that performance. It ſhould ſeem, that a veil is to be thrown upon the affairs of Ireland, leſt the nation ſhould be convinced of the egregious miſtake of bridling its trade, which is aſſerted to be more profitable to Great Britain than all other countries together.—I applaud the

the work otherwiſe, for the clear ideas of commerce it in general contains, and for the demonſtrations it furniſhes of the danger of opening the French trade, which was intended by the very men that made the peace of Utrecht.

The condition of Britain may be compared to a generous man in debt; as with the one, the cunning ones ſurrounding him, impoſe and make more free with him than they dare do otherwiſe; ſo with the ſtate, city jobbers, whom neceſſity brings into uſe, by their avaricious practices clog the government. The remedy for both is alike; marriage and a good fortune will clear the man of his incumbrances, as the union of Ireland is the beſt way to pay off the debt of the nation. Thus the caſe of both being the ſame, in the room of diſſoluteneſs and bad ſociety, when œconomy and good order take place, wealth, reputation, and happineſs will be the iſſue.

The numerous bankruptcies have afforded an opportunity of knowing the poor condition Ireland is in. This country has ſuffered much by the knavery of bankers, in the tricks they have played, from time to time, with the current (*u*) ſpecie; and, as the

(*u*) To prevent the exportation and diminution of our ſilver coin (there being a diſproportion in the value of gold and ſilver) and as there is a vaſt introduction of the former from the mines of Brazil, it is apprehended, that the value of the guinea ſhould be reduced to that of 20s. 4d. in Great Britain, and 22s. in Ireland, and the ſilver crown (which is ſo liable to be melted by goldſmiths, &c. and hoarded by connoiſſeurs and uſurers) raiſed to 5s. 1d. to be the fourth part of a guinea; ſo that the Britiſh crown may paſs in Ireland for 5s. 6d. the quarter of a guinea, or 22s. and as a new coinage will incur an heavy expence, let 4d. and 8d. pieces be coined, which, being equal parts of a ſhilling, are well adapted to pay labourers, manufacturers, &c. It is thought, the ſilver monies from Edward the Sixth's time ſhould be allowed, according to their denominations,

the remittances abroad paſs through their hands, and that myſterious affair of exchange is regulated by them, they are the earlieſt acquainted with the ſtate of the credit of the nation; and all the uſe made of this knowledge is to their own private advantage. To relieve us from this ſpecies of tyranny, it is ſubmitted, whether the employment of a banker ſhould not be a diſqualification from a ſeat in parliament.

From what has been delivered there ariſe theſe reflexions, Whether it would not have been better, as the redundancy in the treaſury of Ireland grew up, rather than laviſhing it away in penſions, if part of it had been employed in building and erecting workhouſes, infirmaries, and foundling hoſpitals, in the principal towns? Such a work, proſecuted for ten or a dozen years with ſpirit and fidelity, would be the means of reſcuing this nation from Popery, poverty, and idleneſs, which, being ſeconded by a due execution of the laws, could not fail of making Great Britain and Ireland happy.

Before any more laws are enacted, it ſhould be recommended to the committee appointed to inquire what laws are expired or near expiring, that one law more is only fit to be made, and that is, a law to enforce the execution of thoſe laws already in being: for to have laws made and trampled upon in the manner we ſee they are, is a bad ſign; it were better to let them expire. And accordingly, the writer of the Grandeur and Declenſion of the Romans, remarks, ‘ A free government, that is

nations, to circulate, which would bring out a great quantity of hoarded caſh, and prevent a great deal from being thrown into crucibles. It is ſubmitted, whether it would not be right to allow a currency to the ſilver monies coined prior to Edward the Sixth's time, ſuch as pennies and groats, for the convenience of change and benefit of the public.

‘ to

'to ſay, one for ever in motion, cannot ſupport it-
'ſelf, unleſs its own laws are capable of correcting
'the diſorders of it.'

The extravagant ſeverity of the laws againſt Popery, like an edge too finely ground, hinder them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees they have grown into diſuſe. Moderate perſons would be willing to allow the Papiſts to purchaſe, and take leaſes for ſixty years, which would be a pledge for their obedience, and wean them from Popery.

We may obſerve, with Sir William Davenant, 'That a country cannot increaſe in wealth and 'power, but by private men doing their duty to 'the public, and by a ſteady courſe of honeſty and 'wiſdom in ſuch as are truſted with the admini-'ſtration of affairs. And to this purpoſe that ex-'cellent patriot, Algernon Sydney, (*x*) writes.— 'The good magiſtrate ſeeks the good of his peo-'ple committed to his care, that he may perform 'the end of his inſtitution; and knowing that 'chiefly to conſiſt in juſtice and virtue, he endea-'vours to plant and propagate them, and by do-'ing this, he procures his own good, as well as that 'of the public: he knows there is no ſafety where 'there is no ſtrength, no ſtrength without union, 'no union without juſtice, no juſtice where faith 'and truth, in accompliſhing public and private 'contracts, is wanting.—This he perpetually in-'culcates, and thinks it a great part of his duty, 'by precept and example to educate the youth in a 'love of virtue and truth.'

Example is a written law, whoſe ſway
We more than all the written laws obey.

(*x*) Sect. xix. of his Diſcourſes, p. 312.

From

From the general reigning depravity, and the great deficiency of the magiſtrates, Ireland is unhappily circumſtanced, as nuiſances increaſe every day, and it is in vain for a well-meaning perſon to attempt to prevent them. There is no country where the *vox populi* is ſo much an exception againſt themſelves; whereas in other countries, the generality readily act in favour of order and the execution of the laws.

We live in an age and country in which public ſpirit is far gone in a decay, and commonly ridiculed when it makes its appearance; almoſt all ranks of people figuring beyond their income and ſtation, conſequently all in debt; and tradeſmen not being paid, by theſe means, cannot keep well with their journeymen, who demand higher wages, quit their work, and turn riotous; the buſineſs of uſury increaſing at a high rate, and men of great employment not above keeping bankers ſhops; high exchange the true ſymptom of poor trade, little caſh, and low credit in a country, where the univerſal paſſion (gaming) gets the better of all other, and abſorbs even the parental care. It is apparent that the nation in general have this bias to gaming, by the parliament having recourſe ſo conſtantly to ſchemes (ſuch as lotteries and annuities) for raiſing money, which have their foundation in gaming, thereby availing itſelf of this diſpoſition of the people, by making it ſubſervient to the benefit of the public: witneſs alſo the number of illegal ſchemes in Ireland, which go under the name of charity.—The adepts in this ſcience are the moſt faſhionable folks, the mode of converſation turning wholly upon the *topic*, as the moſt known induſtry is ſeen in the profeſſion of gaming, and how to be maintained at the public expence; all ingenuity being exerted to get a ſnatch at the money of the treaſury,

ſury, which it would take little trouble to ſhew, is not a real but imaginary wealth of the nation; the produce of a falſe ſyſtem of politics, in allowing the importation of French wines and foreign commodities, and our folly in uſing them. It is the virtues, and not the vices of a neighbouring nation, that we ſhould imitate. The ſame expences may be reckoned vicious for one ſet of people, and may be innocent and allowable for another, that compared, denomination with denomination, are fourteen times wealthier; therefore, our public diverſions bearing as high a price as thoſe in England, is vain, and plays, and other public entertainments, beginning later with us, makes the thing worſe; for in the conſequence of frequenting them, perſons get a habit of lying late in bed, which has very bad effects, beſide the ill example.

Mr. M'Aulay concludes his Inquiry into the legality of Iriſh penſions thus: 'If any penſions have 'been obtained on that eſtabliſhment to ſerve the 'corrupt purpoſes of ambious men—If his ma-'jeſty's revenues of Ireland have been employed in 'penſions, to debauch his majeſty's ſubjects of both 'kingdoms—If the treaſure of Ireland has been 'expended in penſions, for corrupting men of that 'kingdom to betray their country, and men of the 'neighbouring kingdom to betray both—If Iriſh 'penſions have been procured to ſupport gameſters 'and gaming-houſes, promoting a vice which 'threatens national ruin—If Iriſh penſions have 'been pilfered from the crown, to raiſe and main-'tain an unnatural power againſt the crown's vice-'gerent—If penſions have been purloined out of 'the national treaſure of Ireland, under the maſk 'of ſalaries annexed to public offices, uſeleſs to the 'nation, newly invented for the purpoſes of cor-'ruption—If Ireland, juſt beginning to recover

'from

'from the devaſtations of maſſacre and rebellion, 'be obſtructed in the progreſs of her cure by ſwarms 'of penſionary vultures, preying on her vitals—If, 'by ſquandering the national ſubſtance of Ireland 'in a licentious, unbounded profuſion of penſions, 'inſtead of employing it in nouriſhing and improv-'ing her infant agriculture, trade, and manu-'factures, or in enlightening and reforming her 'poor, ignorant, deluded, miſerable natives (by 'nature moſt amiable, moſt valuable, moſt worthy 'of public attention)—If, by ſuch abuſe of the 'national ſubſtance, ſloth and naſtineſs, cold and 'hunger, nakedneſs and wretchedneſs, Popery, de-'population, and barbariſm ſtill maintain their 'ground, ſtill deform a country abounding with 'all the riches of nature, yet hitherto deſtined to 'beggary—If ſuch penſions be found on the Iriſh 'eſtabliſhment, let ſuch be cut off; and let the 'perfidious adviſers be branded with indelible cha-'racters of public infamy, adequate, if poſſible, to 'the diſhonour of their crime.'

There is reaſon to be aſſured, that it would be much happier for Ireland to have the generality flouriſh by a concurring induſtry, and that a large debt was due by the public (among ourſelves) than to have the kingdom nominally rich, becauſe certain individuals make monſtrous fortunes, at the ſame time that nineteen in twenty of the natives are ſtarving and uncivilized. It is an old obſervation, that that kingdom is moſt flouriſhing where the beſt men are the greateſt men, and the greateſt * men are the beſt men; but it is to be apprehended, that general corruption is overrunning theſe nations with ſo rapid a courſe, that it will ſoon overwhelm private virtue, and the ſmall portion of the *amor*

* Magnates optimates.

patriæ

patriæ remaining among us, and, it is much to be feared, will bring down, as in a torrent, along with it loſs of religion and liberty, and leave us plunged in a deluge of depravity, ſlavery, and beggary.—Providence avert we have not occaſion to ſay,

O! liberty, too late deſired when loſt:
Like health, when wanted, thou art valued moſt.

Therefore all ought to exert themſelves according to their ſeveral ſtations and capacities, for the good of the ſociety they belong to; particularly it is our duty

To employ the induſtrious poor;
To puniſh the wicked and lazy, by forcing the vagrant and ſturdy beggars to work;
To provide for the helpleſs, aged, and young, the diſeaſed, impotent, and blind.

I ſhall humbly pray, that to further this ſcheme, not only all juſt penal laws, where any part of the forfeitures are given to the poor, may be carefully and ſpeedily put into execution; but particularly, that all uſurers, taking more than legal intereſt, ſhall forfeit the whole for the uſe of the poor. The forfeitures and fines according to law, in this kingdom alone, ought to amount to a great revenue, as well the part for the uſe of the crown, as that directed to be applied for the ſervice of the poor.

It is certainly incumbent on thoſe concerned to ſee that there is a proper account given thereof.—The great men, who are at the head of charitable corporations, and the direction of money appointed for pious uſes, will do well to conſider this matter. The excuſe, that it is not one particular man's buſineſs, will not do: thoſe on whom the care of the poor devolves, ought to act, to the utmoſt of their

power, for the good of the public, and not from partial and low conſiderations. Some may not be aware of the guilt they incur, even though there is no direct fraud committed by them; yet, if by their indolence and inattention wrongs and injuries are produced, the cries of the poor and needy will aſcend: therefore it behoves thoſe who are guardians of the poor to take care, as the extent of the miſchiefs of neglecting charitable truſts cannot be known. 'Who can tell how often he offendeth?' ſays the Pſalmiſt.

It were to be wiſhed, that, according to the inſtitution of king Edward I. (our Engliſh Juſtinian) once every three years a commiſſion was to be iſſued, to make inquiſition through the realm, by the verdict of ſubſtantial juries, upon all officers, ſheriffs, mayors, juſtices of the peace, coroners, eſcheators, bailiffs, conſtables, jailors, &c. touching their mal-adminiſtration, and neglect of executing the good laws reſpectively; alſo that, as has been lately effected in the dominions of the king of Pruſſia, all our laws, civil and eccleſiaſtical, which moſt concern the ſubject, may be digeſted into one volume, and plainly ſet down, and, by due time and by parcels, be read in the churches every Sunday in the afternoon; which might have a better effect than the ſoporific commonly adminiſtered by the drudge and hireling the curate.

That great light in our church, Dr. Sherlock biſhop of London, has laid down the duty of parents and magiſtrates, in his uſual clear and perſuaſive manner, in a charity ſermon *: an extract from which may illuſtrate this ſubject.

* See the laſt diſcourſe of the fourth Volume of Sherlock's Sermons.

'As

'As to the caſe of virtue and religion, it is evi-
'dent, that every magiſtrate's duty, with reſpect to
'his people, is the ſame with that which every fa-
'ther naturally has with reſpect to his children and
'houſhold.

'Abraham was therefore to be made a great
'and mighty nation, becauſe he would command
'his children and houſhold to keep the way of the
'LORD. A manifeſt proof, that the care and
'command which he exerciſed, as father of the
'family, was proper to be extended to whole na-
'tions; otherwiſe, this care over his family, could
'be no reaſon for extending his authority over a
'great and mighty nation. And indeed the ma-
'giſtrate's care, with reſpect to the religion of his
'people; and the father's, with reſpect to the re-
'ligion of his family, are ſo much the ſame, that
'they muſt neceſſarily ſtand and fall together: and
'further,

'The magiſtrate is, in the firſt place, to be
'watchful over the manners of the people, and to
'be jealous for the honour of God. In this con-
'ſiſts the ſtability of nations: for righteouſneſs ex-
'alteth a nation; but ſin is the reproach of the
'people.

'This caſe deſcends from the ſupreme head of
'juſtice to every officer of the kingdom, in pro-
'portion to the power communicated to him; and
'every magiſtrate who connives at open impiety,
'is falſe both to God and the king.

'Next to the magiſtrates, the chief care of vir-
'tue and religion lies upon fathers and maſters of
'families. The kingdom is one great family, and
'it is made up of the ſmall ones; and if due care
'be taken in private families for the government
'and inſtruction of youth, the public will ſoon ſee
'and feel the effects of it.

Thus we ſee that the right education of youth is of the higheſt importance to the welfare of the public, inſomuch, that no conſideration ought to ſupercede the duty of parents in the tuition of their children; but cuſtom has ordered it, what through inability and lazineſs, and from a depravity in mankind, that this grand affair of education is turned over to hirelings; and, at the ſame time, it muſt be ſaid, that the general behaviour of ſchoolmaſters and uſhers, who are intruſted with the care of inſtructing youth, is much to be complained of; and it is to be feared, that to their not regarding their truſt, ſo many misfortunes of the age are due.

At preſent I ſhall only remark one abuſe.—If parents conſidered the number, I may rather ſay of unholy than holy days, they would not be ſo apt to agree for a boy's ſchooling by the quarter: for in the year the following days are paid for, though commonly no ſchool teaches on thoſe, viz.

Church holydays, — — —	30
State days, — — — —	18
A month at Chriſtmas, — —	28
Ditto at Eaſter and Whitſuntide, —	28
Ditto in the Dog-days, — —	28
Sundays, — — — —	52
Thurſday and Saturday afternoons, —	52
Total, — — —	236

From hence it is apparent, that the number of *dies non*, beſide thoſe the ſchoolmaſters take the liberty of making themſelves, for new ſcholars, &c. is ſo great, that ſchool is ſcarce kept one day in three in the year; and, conſidering the few hours

in

in the day they have reduced the time of teaching to, and the bad uſe made of that time, the impoſition is become ſo infamous, that it is high time to have it, and other indirect methods of teachers, redreſſed. Suppoſe the ſchoolmaſter ſhould be paid only for the effective days, perhaps this extraordinary number of idle days would be reduced, and children not allowed to waſte that precious part of their lives in idleneſs, attended with keeping bad company, to the deſtruction of their morals, by contracting early habits of vice, which the world teſtifies. Concerning the errors in education, the function of the clergy, and obſervations relating to the body of the people, ſee the concluſion of biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

That excellent divine, philoſopher, and patriot, biſhop Berkley, having given ſo many proofs of his affection for this country, his lordſhip's judgment is no more to be queſtioned, than his abilities and inclination to ſerve it. It is worth recording, that this paſtor reſided conſtantly with his flock, as Dr. Burnet did: that his ſtudy and employment was to render mankind happier and better; and, as a true inheritor of Chriſt's church, he followed the example of his divine maſter, by being the phyſician to the bodies as well as the ſouls of the people committed to his care, thereby intimating to his brethren the true nature and deſign of their functions and appointments.

The Queries which the biſhop of Cloyne propoſed to the conſideration of the public, are ſo applicable to the ſubject of this treatiſe, that I think I cannot more properly finiſh this chapter, than by ſelecting ſome of them, by way of recapitulation.

QUERIES

QUERIES

RELATING TO

IRELAND.

QUERY XLIX.

WHETHER it would not be an unhappy turn in our gentlemen, if they ſhould take more thought to create an intereſt in this or that county or borough, than to promote the real intereſt of their country?

Query L.

Whether if a man builds a houſe, he doth not, in the firſt place, provide a plan which governs his work? And ſhall the public act without an end, a view, a plan?

Query XC.

Whether it would not be the true intereſt of both nations to become one people? And whether either be ſufficiently apprized of this?

Query XCI.

Whether the upper part of this nation are not truly Engliſh, by blood, language, religion, manners, inclination, and intereſt?

Query

Query XCV.

Whether any thing can be more ridiculous, than for the North of Ireland to be jealous of the linen manufacture in the South?

Query CIV.

Whether thoſe who drink foreign liquors, and deck themſelves and their families with foreign ornaments, are not ſo far forth to be reckoned abſentees?

Query CXII.

Suppoſe the bulk of our inhabitants had ſhoes to their feet, cloaths to their backs, and beef in their bellies, might not ſuch a ſtate be eligible for the public, even though the 'ſquire were condemned to drink ale and cyder?

Query CXXX.

Whether the number and welfare of the ſubjects be not the true ſtrength of the crown?

Query CXL.

Whether we are not undone by faſhions? And whether it be not madneſs in a poor nation to imitate a rich one?

Query CLIV.

What reaſon have our neighbours in England for diſcouraging French wines, which may not hold with reſpect to us alſo?

Query CLV.

When the root yieldeth inſufficient nouriſhment, whether men do not lop the tree, to make the lower branches thrive?

Query

Query CLXVII.

Whether the vanity and luxury of a few ought to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of a nation?

Query CLXXIII.

Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool, and leather, exported from this iſland, can be reckoned the ſuperfluities of a country, where there are ſo many natives naked and famiſhed?

Query CLXXX.

Whether other methods may not be found for ſupplying the funds, beſide the cuſtom on things imported?

Query CLXXXI.

Whether any art or manufacture be ſo difficult as the making good laws? *

Query CXCXV.

Whether a wiſe ſtate has any intereſt nearer heart than the education of youth?

Query CCXX.

Whether national banks are not found uſeful in Venice, Holland, and Hamburgh? and whether it is not poſſible to contrive one that may be alſo uſeful in Ireland?

Query CCXXIII.

Whether a bank of national credit, ſupported by public funds, and ſecured by parliament, be a chimera, or impoſſible thing?

* It ſeems executing good laws is more difficult.

Query

Query CCXXV.

Whether the notes of ſuch public bank would not have a more general circulation than thoſe of private banks, as being leſs ſubject to frauds and hazard?

Query CCXXXIII.

Whether the credit of the public funds be not a mine of gold in England?

Query CCXLV.

Whether the objection from monopolies and an overgrowth of power, which are made againſt private banks, can poſſibly hold againſt a national one?

Query CCLV.

Whether a ſcheme for the welfare of this nation ſhould not take in the whole inhabitants?—and whether it be not a vain attempt to project the flouriſhing of our Proteſtant gentry, excluſive of the bulk of the natives?

Query CCLXXII.

Whether we are not as far before other nations, with reſpect to natural advantages, as we are behind them, with reſpect to arts and induſtry?

Query CCLXXV.

Whether the wealth and proſperity of our country do not hang by a hair; the probity of one banker, the caution of another, and the lives of all?

Query CCLXXVII.

Whether a national bank would not at once ſecure our properties, put an end to uſury, facilitate commerce, ſupply the want of coin, and produce yearly payments in all parts of the kingdom?

Query CCCXXIX.

Whether the great and general aim of the public ſhould not be to employ the people?

Query CCCLII.

Whether the main point be not to multiply and employ our people?

Query CCCLV.

Whether the way to make men induſtrious, be not to let them taſte the fruits of their induſtry? and whether the labouring ox ſhould be muzzled?

Query CCCLX.

Whether we ſhould not caſt about, by all manner of means, to excite induſtry, and to remove whatever hinders it?—and whether every one ſhould not lend a helping hand?

Query CCCLXVII.

Whether there can be a greater reproach on the leading men and patriots of a country, than that the people ſhould want employment?—and whether methods may not be found to employ even the lame and the blind, the dumb, the deaf, and the maimed, in ſome one or other branch of our manufactures?

Query CCCLXVIII.

Whether *much* may not be expected from a biennial conſultation of ſo many wiſe men about the public good?

Query CCCLXX.

Whether it would be a great hardſhip, if every pariſh were obliged to find work for their poor?

Query

Query CCCLXXI.

Whether children eſpecially ſhould not be inured to labour betimes?

Query CCCLXXII.

Whether there ſhould not be erected in each province an hoſpital for orphans and foundlings, at the expence of old bachelors.

Query CCCLXXIII.

Whether it be true, that in the Dutch work-houſes things are ſo managed, that a child four years old may earn its own livelihood?

Query CCCLXXIV.

What a folly it is to build fine houſes, or eſtabliſh lucrative poſts and large incomes, under the notion of providing for the poor?

Query CCCLXXVII.

Whether workhouſes ſhould not be made at the leaſt expence, with clay floors, and ſo forth?

Query CCCLXXXIII.

Whether the public hath not a right to employ thoſe who cannot, or who will not find employment for themſelves?

Query CCCLXXXIV.

Whether all ſturdy beggars ſhould not be ſeized, and made ſlaves to the public for a certain term of years?

Query CCCCVIII.

Whether in proportion as Ireland was improved and beautified by fine ſeats, the number of abſentees would not decreaſe?

Query CCCCXVI.

Whether money could ever be wanting to the demands of induſtry, if we had a national bank?

Query CCCCXLVI.

Whether we are not in fact the only people who may be ſaid to ſtarve in the midſt of plenty?

Query CCCCLIX.

Whether a national bank be not the true philoſopher's ſtone in a ſtate?

Query CCCCLXXXV.

If we had a mint for coining only Shillings, Sixpences, and copper money, whether the nation would not ſoon feel the good effects of it?

Query CCCCXCVIII.

Whether any kingdom in Europe be ſo good a cuſtomer at Bourdeaux as Ireland?

Query DVIII.

Whether there is not a great number of idle fingers among the wives and daughters of our people?

Query DXIX.

Whether if the linen manufacture were carried on in the other provinces, as well as in the North, the merchants of Cork, Limerick, and Galway, would not ſoon find the way to Spain?

Query DXXVIII.

Whether the induſtry of our people employed in foreign lands, while our own are left uncultivated, be not a great loſs to the country?

Query DXXXIII.

Whether we had not, ſome years ſince, a manufacture of hats at Athlone, and of earthen-ware at Arklow?—and what became of thoſe manufactures?

Query DXXXVIII.

Whether if our gentry uſed to drink mead and cider, we ſhould not ſoon have thoſe liquors in the utmoſt perfection?

Query DXXXIX.

Whether it be not wonderful, that, with ſuch paſtures, and ſo many black cattle, we do not find ourſelves in cheeſe?

Query DXL.

Whether great profits may not be made by fiſheries?—but whether thoſe of our Iriſh who live by that, do not contrive to be drunk and unemployed one half of the year?

Query DXLV.

Whether the charge of making good roads and navigable rivers acroſs the country, would not really be repaid by an inland commerce?

Query DXLVIII.

Whether the benefits of a domeſtic commerce are ſufficiently underſtood and attended to?—and whether the cauſe thereof be not the prejudiced and narrow way of thinking about gold and ſilver?

Query DLII.

Whether there be not, every year, more caſh circulated at the card-tables in Dublin, than at all the fairs in Ireland?

Query

Query DLIII.

Whether the wealth of a country will not bear proportion to the ſkill and induſtry of the inhabitants?

Query DLV.

Whether foreign imports, that tend to promote induſtry, ſhould not be encouraged; and ſuch as have a tendency to promote luxury, ſhould not be diſcouraged?

Query DLXXXII.

Whether the ſum of the faculties put into act, or, in other words, the united action of a whole people, doth not conſtitute the *momentum* of a ſtate?

Query DLXXXIII.

Whether ſuch *momentum* be not the real ſtock and wealth of a ſtate?—and whether its credit be not proportional thereto?

Query DLXXXVIII.

Whether the particular motions of the members of a ſtate in oppoſite directions, will not deſtroy each other, and leſſen the *momentum* of the whole? but whether they muſt not conſpire to produce a great effect?

Query DLXXXVIII.

Whether the ready means to put ſpirit into this ſtate, to fortify and increaſe its *momentum*, would not be a national bank, and plenty of ſmall caſh?

Query

Query DCXV.

Whoſe fault is it, if poor Ireland continues poor?

" Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do
" unto you, do ye even ſo unto them; for
" this is the Law and the Prophets."

Dublin, Nov. 30, 1772.

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The remaining CHAPTERS of this ESSAY will be publiſhed after Chriſtmas.

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